

**THE YOUNG
INDUSTRIAL WORKER**

A Study of
His Educational Needs

BY
M. PHILLIPS



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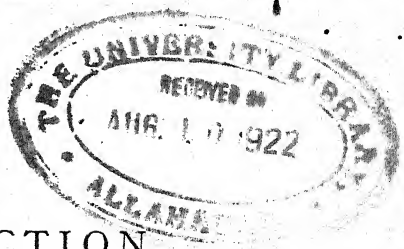
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INTRODUCTION

THE present delay in the setting up of Continuation Schools is a reason, not for putting on one side for a time the problems of adolescent education, but for spreading abroad, among a wider public, information and ideas of every kind that will help to bring home the urgent necessity for the continued education of the young wage-earner. The special significance of adolescence as a time of mental and moral upheaval, as a plastic period when influences for good or evil may mould the whole future of the youth, all this is a commonplace to students of educational psychology; but it is far from being recognized by the general public. No doubt financial reasons are the strongest influence at work against the extension of education. They are backed, however, by a widespread feeling that education beyond the elementary stage is, for the masses, unnecessary and often, as I have heard a City Councillor assert, useless. This attitude seems to be taken even by many persons who are really keen about the advance of education upon established lines, for example, the improvement of primary education and of secondary education for the selected few. It will be found, I think, that such persons are usually ignorant as to the special characteristics of adolescence.

The average parent, indeed, seems to forget the significance of his or her adolescence. This appears strange if, as stated above, adolescence is a period of such intensified feeling and often of storm and stress. In the course, however, of some investigations made to test whether the findings of Stanley Hall in reference to the psychology

of adolescence were true for the average student in a provincial University, two explanations appeared of this apparent lack of appreciation of the importance of adolescence. One was that an aversion is set up from the recall of and thought about adolescent experiences. I had evidence that in many instances the unpleasantness of some experiences of adolescence leads to a repression almost amounting at times to an entire forgetting of these experiences.

The other explanation suggested was the tendency, in a number of cases, for a man or woman to regard his or her own adolescent experiences as unique. Few know that those traits, which to each have appeared as the eccentricities of his own youth, have been shown by wide investigation to be almost universal.

Now there is already a large number of the working classes who are making noble sacrifices to send their children to secondary schools and even to a provincial University. It seems to me certain that a still larger number would be willing to make the far slighter self-sacrifice involved, even if some wages were lost, by the sending of their children to a Continuation School, if they could be brought to realize the significance of adolescence. And the same enlightenment would, I believe, bring over an appreciable number of the middle class at present hostile or indifferent to the institution of Continuation Schools. They would be prepared to make their contribution in rates and taxes to a scheme they really felt to be good.

For these reasons a welcome is due I think to such a work as the present volume, and particularly because enlightenment is needed, not only as to the special characteristics of adolescence in the young wage-earner, but as to the ways in which the Continuation School may deal with them—or better still in which it actually has dealt with them. In

reading Miss Phillips's book one feels in touch with such reality. The characters of some of her own pupils appear vividly before us. She has been fortunate in winning their confidence to an unusual degree; and their letters to her, quoted in this book, form valuable material for the study of the young girl wage-earner. To the teacher Miss Phillips's discussions are of special value because she reveals so frankly the great difficulties by which the Continuation School teacher is faced, and deals with them with such remarkable insight.

I would call special attention to the evidence of the way in which some of the poorer parents come to appreciate the Continuation School when they realize its value as a social centre for their girls and lads. Perhaps it would be well if we could find some term better than 'school' which would signify the wider services which will be performed by the Continuation Schools and which would lessen the suggestion to the young wage-earner of a continuance of the bondage from which he often rejoices to be free. The use of the term 'school' would surely be most misleading if the social activities, self-government, group work, and individual methods, which are included among the ideals of the writer of this book, were realized.

Enlightenment is also needed as to the curriculum which is likely to be adopted in the Continuation Schools. Many a parent who left the Elementary School twenty or thirty years ago may have some justification in feeling that a continuance for a few years more of the same education he received at school would not have been of much service to him, and had no obvious relation to the great and permanent interests of adult life. Some of us are looking to the Continuation Schools to show that work of genuine educational value may at the same time appeal

strongly to the widening interests of the young wage-earner and be a help towards his preparation for the duties of citizenship.

As to the attitude of the middle class—at a time when the franchise is being extended practically to every adult, it is really amazing that one should have opposition to continued education on the part of those who at other times complain that the working-man does not understand complex social and political questions, and is too ignorant to use his vote wisely. One would have thought that even if they had no generous impulse to improve the life and widen the interests of the masses of the people they would at least, for reasons of self-interest, desire the steady influence of education, even as a form of political insurance. One hesitates to think that there are still many who think that social stability is best secured by keeping the masses uneducated, beyond a necessary minimum. Such as do are blind to the fact that we are living in a new world.

In the sphere of physical health, the value of preventive medicine is now thoroughly established. So in the work of moral regeneration the signs of the times suggest that the best progress is possible along the lines of prevention; that it is better to increase the number of schools rather than that of prisons.

In the study of mental diseases and of juvenile delinquents it is being found that evils are best cured, not by mere repression, but by the substitution of new good activities for bad. So in the study of social advance it is seen that the best means of getting rid of the great evils is to guide the impulses and instincts of youth along higher lines, not merely to punish them when they have wandered, unguided, far along the wrong paths.

C. W. VALENTINE.

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P R E F A C E

THIS book is written in the conviction that the present inequality of educational opportunity is one of the most serious—even one of the most menacing—faults in our existing social polity. It is arguable that until 1914 the gradual spread of education enabled the national mind to keep abreast of, and in some measure to cope with, social and economic development. But the great war multiplied the number of problems awaiting solution, added to their intricacy and complexity, and increased enormously their urgency. On the other hand it retarded, inevitably, educational progress. As a result, the discrepancy between our national needs and the national provision for them is at the moment greater than ever.

Chief among existing defects is our continued failure, in spite of fair promise, to make provision for the educational needs of young industrial workers. It is vital that such provision should be speedily made. Continued education is the best preventive against the barren type of revolution which has done so much harm elsewhere in Europe. It is the only safe means to the social reconstruction which has been for so long a pious hope among us. Meanwhile it is the best practical supplement to the unsatisfactory lives lived by the masses in many of our large towns, the best corrective of the stunted, and in many respects abnormal, personalities which crude industrial conditions must inevitably produce. All these points will, it is hoped, become clearer in the course of the argument.

The point of view here presented is the outcome of experience extending over six years—spent partly as Assistant Mistress in a large Continuation School under a local authority; partly as

Senior Mistress of a 'Works' School run by a private firm; partly in training teachers for work in Continuation Schools. The conclusions here reached are based largely upon work among girls, though I have also taught continuation classes of boys. In the absence of further experience I would not dogmatize as to how far the generalizations I suggest are applicable to boys also. I would merely record my own conviction that sex differences have, in the past, been considerably exaggerated.

I have ventured to illustrate my general statements by extracts from a correspondence carried on with between fifty and sixty Continuation School pupils for periods of from two to six years (names are in all cases fictitious). As many of these pupils are still my personal friends I would take this opportunity of saying that I regard general statements concerning 'the young wage-earner' as true of individuals only in the sense in which I should accept, for example, generalizations about teachers as true of myself. I realize that on the one hand exceptions are so numerous that to generalize at all is a hazardous proceeding; on the other hand that such generalizations, even when applicable, can never exhaust a concrete case, but that the eternal differences persist beneath, above, and beyond them. I hope, therefore, that I have done no violence to personality by my attempt to show that certain economic and social conditions produce certain superficial characteristics, which are, broadly speaking, common to all workers subjected thereto.

I have deliberately dealt only with those aspects of the Continuation School problem of which I have direct experience. I have ignored, for example, the whole question of schools in rural areas. But I realize that even within these selected spheres there is much possibility of error. My aim has been merely to provide a rough guide to a relatively uncharted territory—in the hope that my errors and omissions may meet the same indulgence as a modern cartographer would bestow upon the efforts of Othere and Marco Polo.

Any traces of dogmatism which the book may contain, are,

I hope, the result of anxiety to compress rather than of a closed mind.

I have much sympathy with those who are at present opposed to the Continuation clauses of the Fisher Act on the ground that these substitute, for the universal secondary education which is theoretically desirable, an inferior brand of education which might serve to perpetuate the existing inequality of opportunity. But while realizing the danger I believe that these clauses may be used, not as a sop to Cerberus, but as a first step toward radical educational reconstruction. In this spirit I would interpret them.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge my debts to Miss M. K. Ashby and Professor C. W. Valentine for reading the manuscript and making valuable criticisms and suggestions, and to Professor J. H. Muirhead for inspiration and encouragement extending over many years. And I would dedicate whatever is of value in the book to the memory of an untiring advocate of many of the causes which the writer has at heart, and particularly of the political education of women—the late Rose Sidgwick.

MARGARET PHILLIPS.

JULY 1921.



I

THE YOUNG INDUSTRIAL WORKER

It has already been suggested that the conditions prevailing in many large towns—the conditions under which the young industrial worker normally lives—have produced a type of character which constitutes in itself a serious social problem. The object of the present chapter is to bring evidence in support of this contention. In the interests of brevity it will be assumed that the reader is familiar with some such account of the characteristics of adolescence in general as has been given by Professor Stanley Hall in *Youth*, or by Dr. J. W. Slaughter in *The Adolescent*, or by many modern novelists, and also with current conceptions as to the content of the normal mind such as may be found in Dr. Macdougall's *Social Psychology*, or in A. G. Tansley's *New Psychology*. Books such as the above will provide a rough chart of the psychology of the typical adolescent (if such there be) upon which the deviations shown by the young wage-earner may conveniently be marked.

Let it be assumed, then, that the mental energy of the average man runs naturally in certain well-marked directions; that, as a result of this tendency, there are built up for each individual a number of more or less permanent interests, varying in stability and strength; and that, among these latter, three are in nearly all cases discernibly dominant. The average man, that is to say, is primarily interested in himself, in his fellow-men in general, and in one or more members of the opposite sex in particular.

Now in early adolescence these three interest-systems are usually fairly well established, the first two being, however, more stable and relatively more developed than the third. The typical adolescent is intensely interested in himself. He is learning both

self-respect and humility. He is beginning to discover alike his capacities and his limitations. Secondly, he is interested in his fellows. He has had opportunity for leisured solitude and for satisfactory intercourse with others. He has tested both the force of social pressure and his own power over his fellows, and is discovering the meaning of society and of his membership thereof. Finally, he is beginning to be aware of sex.

But in addition he is developing a number of more specialized and 'higher' interests—objective rather than personal in character. These may be connected with the material world—with nature with scientific discovery and invention, with machinery, travel, and exploration. Or he may have developed a more purely intellectual love of knowledge for its own sake—of mathematics pure science, even of philosophy. His moral sense has almost certainly awakened; he is beginning to formulate ideals of conduct and to pursue them for their own sake, and is building up a system of loyalties—to school, city, and country. The constructive and acquisitive instincts have developed and are finding expression in his sports and hobbies, in collections and craftsmanship. His aesthetic interests are growing, and show themselves in a love of pictures, of natural beauty, of music and literature—possibly even in attempts at artistic creation.

Such is the generally accepted account of normal adolescence. What of the young wage-earner? In his case development along the above lines has been modified and thwarted—even truncated—to an alarming degree. Even the three primary 'personal' interests, though powerful, may be only rudimentary in form. Even in relation to them feeling may be undisciplined, knowledge fragmentary, power of expression almost absent.

In the first place the young wage-earner has had little opportunity for self-development. This is the inevitable result of his training—indeed, of his whole life's history. At home, he has never had a room to himself, never known solitude; has been jostled at every turn by the crowd of beings in whose company he is perpetually thrown; and these drawbacks are accepted, both by

parents and children, as a matter of course. A wage-earning mother once remarked to the writer: 'There's one thing to be said for a large family; they fetch each other up!' Another woman, describing her daughter's friend—an orphan—explained, 'She was not fetched up at all; she was pitched up'. A third mother protested against her daughter's attendance at a continuation school on the ground that she would probably be married by the time she was sixteen—'They all do in this district'. On its being suggested that the school might give the daughter some training in child-management she replied, 'What is the good of training a girl to look after her children if she is likely to have a big family? There would be some sense in it if she had only one or two children!'

In the primary school, our adolescent's experience has been of a similar character. There he was one of a crowd, and, in spite perhaps of Herculean efforts on the part of teachers fighting impossible odds, could secure little individual attention or consideration. As a consequence, his corners have been rounded off until much of his individuality has gone with them, and he is superficially indistinguishable from the many other pebbles on the beach. At work, again, he is simply a hand; the tool alike of foremen and older workers. Here he must follow the beaten track, and deviation to right or left is among the chief of crimes.¹

None the less, his interest in himself is enormous. He is inarticulate, but tremendously sensitive. He has an indefinite capacity both for self-assertion and for self-abasement. He may become, without warning, either unwarrantably insolent or inexplicably tongue-tied and obstinate. The elements of 'negative and positive self-feeling' in his personality are in such a state of precarious equilibrium that the balance may be at any moment upset. The same person who one day sits mute or nervously hysterical on the back row, will on another blossom into prominence in a debate or dramatic performance, or into confident leadership as a prefect or member of a school committee. At one

¹ See further, Chap. IV.

moment our adolescent is dominated by his own interests, comforts, likes and dislikes; at another he has merged himself completely in a crowd, and has become its most suggestible unit. But at all times and through all changes, however kaleidoscopic, he craves individual sympathy, attention, and understanding—in a word, that satisfying intercourse with others, hitherto denied him, through which his personality may be stabilized and developed.

By reason of this very craving he is inclined to attribute to personal incidents a value, importance, and significance which are often entirely false, and to repay kindnesses or imagined grievances with an equally disproportionate gratitude or resentment. The two following anecdotes, for example, both narrated by wage-earning pupils, show how personal slights—imaginary or unintended—have resulted in a complete change of attitude on the part of the writers towards both the teachers concerned and the school attended:

‘The school used to be change enough, but even that fails to attract me now. I was keen enough at first, but for a little incident that occurred in the class-room. You know that I occupy the end seat. A new teacher was passing with an armful of books and the top one fell off. Thinking I was doing right I bent down and picked it up. Imagine my surprise and how foolish I felt when she told me to mind my own business—she would pick it up for herself (she will for the future!) It is quite easy to say, “Let that pass and never mind”, but I felt myself growing hot in the presence of eighteen pairs of eyes, and I threw the book down and took my place, and I have not yet forgotten, and I have found other places to go to at night when school would have been far better, if only I could interest myself more—but I can’t.’

‘The other day, while I was in the cloak-room, our teacher made Fanny go and sit at the top of the class, and when I came up I had to sit by myself. It wasn’t because we had given her any cause to separate us: it was to make room for another girl. I can tell you I took it very hard, because Fanny and I have always been together. I felt so miserable sitting there by myself, so you can excuse me for not liking her so much as I did. I was only saying the other day how sorry I should be to leave school, but now I don’t care how soon I leave.’

Conversely, however, manifestations of individual sympathy and interest may meet with just as disproportionate a response.

The impulse to self-expression which can be satisfied by personal intercourse must, if denied this outlet, find other channels. One of the commonest of these, in the case of wage-earning adolescent girls, is an all-consuming passion for clothes. I venture to suggest that the true explanation of this passion lies here, rather than with the sex interest, as is usually imagined.

The following comments (made by two fellow pupils individually, upon the conduct of a Continuation school-girl who had run away from home) are significant in this connexion.

'I really do feel sorry for Bessie. It seems so hard on her to have to work hard all the week and then be satisfied with one single frock—no change at all. I should turn out in a blanket if I was her before I would wear the same old dress always.'

'I can tell you I feel very sorry for Bessie—it is enough to make any girl go wrong the way she has been treated. You know, Miss Phillips, a girl's pride is mostly on her clothes, and Bessie hadn't even got any underclothes.'

The average Continuation student is, then, egoistic in the popular sense, yet lacking in 'self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control'. What, now, of his relations with others? His social sentiment is both intense and narrow. His intercourse with his family, his fellow-workers, and his friends, is all-absorbing. But of his membership of society in the larger sense he is practically unaware. His practical sympathy with comrades in trouble is as strong as his sense of civic or national responsibility is weak. His almost fierce desire for concrete social relationships finds expression through gangs and secret societies, or, particularly with girls, through an elaborate unwritten code of friendship.

The strong corporate feeling (in the narrow sense) which exists among wage-earning adolescents is illustrated by the following extracts. The first is taken from a class-prefect's letter:

'I daresay it will surprise you to hear that we lost one of our nicest and quickest girls about two months ago. She had been ill

for a long time with consumption. She died just before the holidays. We had two collections for her in our class. The first time we bought her some food that she needed because they were not in very good circumstances at home. Then we all joined and bought her a beautiful wreath which cost 15s. 8d.'

The second is part only of an impassioned defence, by a girl of sixteen, of a fellow-worker who is in trouble :

'More bad news; there has been another purse stolen out of our set. What do you think? They are accusing Olive England of taking it; but I would rather believe any one had taken it before Olive. I was talking to Olive myself: she works against me, and she told me about it. It was one of her best friends that accused her, but she is not to be relied upon. At first she accused Olive, and then she denied it and accused some one else. Olive had half-a-crown and two shillings that her father had given her to get their breakfast and dinner—they stop in to dinner you see, and because she had the half-crown the girl said she had taken it and thrown the purse away. Olive was crying, and I think it was a downright shame of the other girl to say such things. I wish I knew who had said it—they would not say it again in a hurry. The girl was as much to blame for leaving her purse in her pocket, because she has been warned before about it.'

While the first two of the three normally-dominant interests are thus, in the case of the young wage-earners, still at a rudimentary stage of development, the third, the sex interest, is usually developed to an abnormal degree. Overcrowding at home, the promiscuous company of older workers, the intense and unescapable 'suggestion' of the life of the streets and of the cinema, and, above all, the lack of 'higher' interests, have produced a sophistication and precocity which are none the less real for being, in many cases, cleverly concealed. I have found it possible to live on friendly, even intimate, terms with my pupils throughout four years of a Continuation course, and only at the close of it to realize that the sex interest has been the dominant factor in the pupils' life during the whole period. A girl of seventeen writes of her own sex consciousness in language which bears witness alike to the crudity and the strength of the interest :

‘Do you know all the men in our office have come back except one, and if they speak to me I go hot all down my back. They do rag me for not talking to them, but you know I am so modest.’

Another girl gave, in conversation, this account of the way in which her fellow-workers normally spend their evenings :

‘They go to the Sheldon Picture Palace three or four times a week, and it is always to see the same picture, and if you say, “Well, how did you like the picture?” they say “Eh, I didn’t go for that”. They go parading at the back of the hall. There is a place at the Sheldon behind the forms, and I think it must be meant for that, because once there was a lady with a perambulator there, and she was grumbling to the attendant and I heard him say, “Well, why did you go there? You had no business. You know that part is meant for the boys and girls”, and she said, “Well, I had paid for my ticket anyway”.’

So much for the young wage-earner’s personal interests. His objective interests are, in comparison with these, only rudimentary. In the case of boys there may have been developed an interest in sport, or in engineering and mechanical inventions connected with their work : in the case of girls an interest in housecrafts or in clothes—the latter, as suggested above, probably drawing its energy from other sources.

Interest in industrial work can, in the case of girls, probably be more truly described as an interest in wages. Norah Fryer, for example, passing, during her half-holiday at school, the factory in which she is normally employed, remarks : ‘Another twenty minutes’ slavery in there.’ A few days later I say to her, ‘Norah, how is it that when I want to borrow a pencil you can always lend me one?’ She replies, ‘Because I always keep it to calculate my wages with.’ Another girl, anxious to leave school after a few months’ attendance, gives as the reason : ‘It’s that awful work ; I have it on my mind all the morning when I come to school—wondering if I shall be able to catch up in the afternoon—and I can’t enjoy school because of it.’

Any further objective interests which may manifest themselves

appear usually to be developments of the more primitive interest in personalities. The boy or girl, for example, who can take no interest in Geography as such, will develop a violent curiosity about any country to which a friend or relation proposes to emigrate. Similarly a class to which History is distasteful will manifest a passion for biography or historical romance, and an interest in literature will often develop as an extension of an interest in the teacher's own personality. A girl of eighteen, possessing more than the average student's capacity for introspection, puts this last point as follows :

'Yes, I am just as silly as ever. Although growing "Old and grey and full of sleep", I still become deeply interested in books, not in the first place for their own worth, but because they have been lent or suggested to me, or their author mentioned by the Particular Person of the moment. Do you remember once reading to us ("us" being your own select party with me co-opted for once) the *Brushwood Boy*? Well, for months after that occasion I read practically nothing that was not written by Kipling.'

Granted this rudimentary development of both the primary and the higher 'objective' interests, it is not to be wondered at if the 'rational intelligence' which should co-ordinate and control them is almost non-existent. The wage-earning adolescent is, in fact, peculiarly unused to reasoning in the strict sense. He is predominantly suggestible. The methods perforce adopted in the primary school have encouraged him to play the part of crowd-unit, swayed by crowd feeling and acting in blind response to a leader. The posters which surround him in the streets, the conversation of his fellows, the press which forms his parents' opinions, all minister to his credulity and suggestibility. With no conscious standard of truth—no landmark by which to steer—no means of choosing between conflicting suggestions, he must perforce accept the strongest and the most insistent of these, or those among them that minister to his unconscious wishes. The rapidity with which a rumour of the wildest description will run through a Continuation School, gathering strength as it goes, is

ample testimony to this. There is, for example, probably no Continuation School mistress who is not, at intervals of six months or so, congratulated on her approaching marriage! I have frequently had letters from former pupils who apologize for not writing before, because they did not know my married name.

Or again, if in a class of Continuation students anxious to go home towards the end of a four-hours' session, the suggestion that it is closing time has once been made, then the combined evidence of striking clocks, factory hooters, and the teacher's word can hardly prevail against it.

As a result, the adolescent wage-earner is a prey to superstition of the crudest kind. A deputation of girls once implored me 'Not to wear that jumper again, because we always catch out when you have it on'. Another group insisted that 'We always get into trouble when we have our History in this room instead of in our own'. A class of girls, in whose somewhat stormy career a painful incident was associated with a certain field, refused point blank to visit it again, lest there should be a repetition of the occurrence. Finally, I once gave a series of Sunday teas to school prefects, and on each occasion had to conduct them safely past the walls of a Roman Catholic convent, which barred their way home, owing to their terror of 'walled-up nuns'.

Equally complete and uncritical is the young wage-earner's acceptance of the code of morals current around him. The virtues which he acknowledges are those which the exacting industrial system demands—industry, orderliness, punctuality, obedience, and sense of property. The vices which he condemns most strongly are those which are economically unprofitable—drunkenness, laziness, irregularity, offences of all kinds against that same property-sense.

Yet in spite of handicaps of this type there does exist, especially in the case of girls, an intense interest in conduct and in the discussion of moral questions, a craving even for a moral ideal,

out of which, as a germ, the rational self in its fullest sense may develop. Any Continuation School which has tried the experiment of opening its morning assembly with a moral address will know with what eagerness this is attended, and how exhaustively the questions which it raises will be discussed throughout the week. Similarly the response to a moral appeal is often overwhelming, as the following extracts will bear witness :

‘Don’t say anything if I tell you, but when our headmistress called me a slacker the last day I was at school I did feel a miserable little worm, because I knew it was perfectly true, and had been for ages before she found out. I didn’t care how I did my work.’

‘I know quite well I made a promise to you to do my best, but the best of people fail sometimes. I have meant to tell you this before, but I have not had the nerve to do so. You see it meant a good lot—no more friendly letters, and to lose the trust that you once placed in me. Don’t think I haven’t tried—I have really—but it’s horribly hard when your heart and soul isn’t in your work all the time. I have felt all the time that it has been like deceiving you. Mostly when I read that passage in the letter you sent, “And I feel I can leave the class in your care with more, not less, confidence than before, and that you will not fail me a second time.” You will no doubt hold me in contempt after this, but I am sorry—I cannot help it. I would rather you know the whole truth than you believe otherwise.’

The same broad generalizations hold good of the aesthetic, as of the moral and intellectual standards of the young industrial worker. His tastes are set for him almost absolutely by the streets and houses in which he lives, the primary school which he has attended, the factory where he works, the literature he reads, the cinema shows which absorb his evenings. In this matter again the primary school has frequently made heroic efforts. Yet it was once the writer’s fate to pass daily, for six weeks, a primary school formerly attended by many of her own Continuation School pupils, and which was bounded on one side by a yard strewn with loose black cinders, on another by the street. The street was

under repair, and immediately beneath the windows of the classrooms stood a tar boiler, puffing dense black smoke in at the open ventilators, while in the dinner-hour the children crowded round the engine, dipping their hands into the pools of tar which lay about in the road, and transferring it to the brick wall of the school. The memorial thus set up was an abiding one.

A description of 'Our Street', once written by a class of Continuation pupils, produced many racy pictures. The two following are typical of the young wage-earner's normal home surroundings :

'At the back of our house is Belfast Street, and, oh it is a lively street. Before the war we had no need to go to the Theatre to see a play, because of men and their wives fighting. I can remember once watching a man and his wife fight, and the wife pulled her clogs off and threw them at her husband, one cutting his head and the other knocking his teeth out. . . . The traffic of our back street includes rag and bone men who shout "Idle backs and rubbing stones: donkey stones and yellow stones"; a man with oranges who shouts "Oranges like wine and bananas ripe"; loads of coal, coke, and bricks; for at the top of our street is a brick-works. The children are always playing at the back of our house, and sometimes you will hear them fighting and scrapping.'

'There are forty-two houses in our street. The first has a shed over the top of the door, which is half off, and the front door looks as though it has had a good beating, for there are several pieces sunk in through being kicked severely. When you get inside it is more like a rag-shop than a house. . . . Go into the kitchen and you will see the mother scrubbing her brains out over the washing-tub, and all the time saying, "Ah me, this 'ere washing would get on anybody's nerve". . . . Then go into the back-yard, and you will see the cat chasing the cocks and hens, and hear the cat mewing and the cocks crowing, and jumping first on the top of the ashpit and then off the coal.

'On Saturday morning you will hear the rag and bone merchants shout, "Come along! pots for rags and bones", or the men in the front street will shout "Old chairs to mend! Any washing tubs or props?" If you go to the bottom of the street you can see the traffic—coal-carts, fish-carts, and men shouting "Tripe, trotters, and cow-heel bits! eightpence a pound! fresh to-day". And then you will see traction-engines, and those carts for mending the

tally wires, and children coming home from school shouting at the top of their voices.'

Since the young factory-worker is thus necessarily ignorant of beauty in any or all its forms it is no wonder that he is, in consequence, apparently inappreciative. A Continuation Class in a busy town revealed many girls who had no knowledge of a dandelion, though some thought they had seen a dandelion clock. The first half-dozen of a series of country rambles undertaken to remedy this were occupied with expeditions to find a sweet-shop (which in this district never failed), with skipping, music-hall songs, a perpetual query of 'Are we landed yet?' and jokes of the type of 'See that bird, girls? No? No more do I!' many times repeated. Another party of students holiday-making in Wales, and walking the country lanes with their hair in curl-papers, provoked the natives to shouts of 'Don't bring your crazy foreign habits here!' A girl of fifteen, after spending a holiday in delightful moorland scenery, writes as follows:

'In June I went to ——. It was all country up there. I had quite a nice holiday. I shall go again if they will have me. I was up to all sorts of pranks when I was there. Really, you know, they are so awfully dull in the country I had to do something to liven them up. I went picking flowers in a field and had the farmers on my track: then I was chased by a bull, went bird-nesting, nearly broke my neck, and rode about four miles at the back of a bicycle.'

I was puzzled by the conduct of another party, who, on exploring a moorland valley, met yellow flags and ragged robins for the first time. They became apparently intoxicated, tore the plants up by the roots or broke off the flower-heads with apparent indifference, stood ankle-deep in water in their anxiety to strip the beds, bore the spoil triumphantly back, but at the tram terminus threw them all away, declaring that they would not be seen carrying these weeds through the town. Apparently the sense of beauty momentarily aroused by the flowers found crude and hesitating expression in action, but the seed thus sown on stony

ground withered away when confronted with the long-established standards of the town.

It was, however, subsequently my privilege to take one of these girls for her first week's holiday in real country surroundings, and on this occasion appreciation was by no means lacking. She was entranced by a pale gold winter sunset, by the reflection of the sky in a still lake ('It looks like a mirror'), by moss on a thatched roof, by a stone water-trough inscribed 'Let all the beasts of the field drink thereof' (the text pleased her particularly); by a cottage buried in ivy; by a group of four firs clustered round a beech-tree on a hill ('It looks like a family having dinner'); by a rabbit scampering over a field, a windmill, young wheat sown in red marl ('Doesn't that red and green look lovely together?'); by the full moon rising behind the village church; and by the ridges in a ploughed field ('It looks like the lids of our school paint-boxes'). Yet, even so, the climax of excitement was reached for her upon two occasions on which the personal element was present—the first a visit to a large family of farmers, whose youngest girl was just off to a neighbouring village dance; the second, morning service in the little village chapel, a breathless account of which ran as follows:

'We sat for about a quarter of an hour waiting for the minister to come. Eh, but you had to keep a straight back; the forms were that narrow. You could hear nothing but the clock ticking—and then somebody's baby cried. Then he came; and he walked up the steps and down again; but they hadn't got the hymns ready; so he wrote them out and then they put the numbers up. Then the service began, and the organ broke down about four times. Eh, but they did sing hearty.'

The same narrowness and monotony of experience which is responsible for this arrested aesthetic development has also produced that combination of childishness with precocity—of *naïveté* with sophistication, which is perhaps the most distinctive mark of the young wage-earner. The sophistication is the veneer; the *naïveté* the reality. A pupil of fourteen inquires of a mistress

leaving school, for whom a farewell offering is in contemplation, 'Please, Miss, are you collecting the money for your present?' Another believes that if she puts a letter inside a parcel to be sent by post she is 'liable for a heavy fine or for arrest'. A third is convinced that a legal decision can still be reversed by trial by combat. 'You have it with a sword—I saw it in a book.'

Closely connected with this *naïveté* is the tendency of the young wage-earner to take one set of social conditions absolutely for granted. His lot has been cast exclusively among them, and he can imagine no other. He 'has no idea what his own house is like, for he has never been outside it'. In an industrial district, for example, the boy or girl who is not anxious to go into industry at the earliest possible moment is regarded as potentially insane. After attempting to rouse in a class of seventeen-year-old girls some desire for a fuller life, I received this response: 'Well, we have all had our chance in our family. My eldest brother learnt the fiddle, and Edward is learning painting, and I started the mandoline but gave it up.' A veneer of accomplishments of this nature is usually the summit of ambition of a wage-earning girl. To the adolescent of this type, in short, all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds, and to arouse him from this attitude is perhaps the most Herculean task with which the Continuation teacher is faced—one which, generally speaking, can only be accomplished through the instrumentality of some vivid and powerfully contrasting experience, such as a holiday in new surroundings, or friendship with a person of a new type.

Many of the defects to which attention has hitherto been drawn are no doubt in part the result of a real failure of psychic energy—itself again connected with those common physical defects to which successive reports by medical officers have borne abundant testimony. The stream of energy is too slow and too feeble to cut deep and abiding channels; hence the weakness and impermanence of the adolescent wage-earner's interests. Hence too his mental instability, lassitude, and lack of concentration. The girl who during a silent reading lesson complains 'I can't get

interested in nothing but Silas K. Hocking' is probably suffering from anaemia. Her friend who declares, 'When I have been reading a book for a few minutes I have to get up and walk about the room', is, with equal probability, underfed. Only the strongest stimuli are effective in such cases, and even these meet with a wholly inadequate response.

Here, probably, also lies the secret of that sensationalism and craving for excitement which have been so much overwritten that they need not be emphasized here. Suffice it to say that the active School Committee member who misses an important school social function, for whose success she herself is largely responsible, in order to attend Episode X of the pictures, is, in the writer's experience, a possibility which has to be reckoned with.

In spite, then, of the social progress of the last century, in spite of improvements in factory conditions and the raising of the school-leaving age, the work of educating the young wage-earner has only begun. The problem is, in fact, as acute at the present moment as it appeared to Lord Brougham or to Lord Shaftesbury; and Mrs. Browning's words, quoted below, are as absolutely relevant now as they were in 1845:

They know the grief of man—without its wisdom;
They sink in man's despair—without its calm;
Are slaves—without the liberty of Christendom;
Are martyrs—by the pang without the palm;
Are worn as though with age, yet unretrievingly
The harvest of its memories cannot reap.
Are orphans of the earthly love and heavenly.
Let them weep—let them weep!

II

THE MISSION OF THE CONTINUATION SCHOOL

THE object of the last chapter was to indicate in what directions the young industrial worker falls short of normal development. The question now arises, what should be the attitude of society towards these defects?

Three views are prevalent. The first, typical of those who regard existing industrial conditions as likely to endure for all time, is that since by a process of social selection the qualities and capacities necessary to industrial efficiency have been developed in the young wage-earner, while the abilities for which he has no use and no outlet have tended to atrophy, no attempt should be made to alter the present state of affairs. The second, held by that section of the community which regards the existing system as doomed to wholesale destruction in the near future, is that any attempt to patch up industrialism by securing for industrial workers a larger share of the amenities of life serves merely to postpone the coming of a better day. The third holds that to give, even to those members of the community whose function is narrowest, opportunities for a fuller life and for further development is to make at once the present more bearable and the future more hopeful.

Each view is based of course on a different social and political philosophy, and ultimately on a different ethical theory. The controversy is an old one and cannot be entered into here. The argument of this book will proceed upon the assumption that the third view is nearer the truth than either of the other two.

Granted, then, that some attempt should be made to remedy the defects already noted, by what agency shall it be carried out?

The writer would reply without hesitation—by the aid of the Continuation School. This opinion implies, of course, a revolutionary view of the function of the school in society—a view which is every day gaining ground, but which still runs counter to an opposed and far older tradition.

At least since the Industrial Revolution, two conflicting views as to the place of the school in the social organism have held the field. The earlier tradition originated with the schools established during, and immediately after, the Renaissance. These regarded the mind—or more particularly the intellect—as their special sphere. They were not necessarily mere knowledge-mongers; their teachers might fairly describe themselves, as did Socrates, as ‘Men-Midwives of Mind’; but if these latter did not confine themselves exclusively to passing on a body of knowledge fairly well defined and limited in scope, yet at least they accepted responsibility for the ‘whole man’ only in so far as they were able, in and through such a body of knowledge, to ‘train the mind’ in the old, formal, possibly fallacious sense. Probably this view of their functions was, for the older schools, a sound one, since much of what is now regarded as education of the most real, vital, and valuable sort was received by their scholars from other sources. The Church on the one hand, and the Craft Guilds under the old domestic system of industry on the other, were responsible for revealing to man much of the meaning of his world, and for training him to fill his place in society.

The manifold activities connected with the home were, for women more particularly, a powerful educative influence. But with the coming of machinery, the decay of organized religion, and the entrance of women into industry, the Church, the Guilds, and the home declined, as educative influences, in force and in value. At the same time, the development of an ever-widening system of national education brought the schools into contact with a new type of scholar—with those who, even under the old conditions, would have been less fitted to cope with the demands of civilized life than were the pupils of the old Grammar Schools.

Probably, however, the changed situation has only become clear within the last few decades. Only recently has there grown up, at least in our own towns, a generation which has not merely never known healthy conditions itself, but whose parents never knew them—a generation which has had neither the formal conscious preparation for life supplied by the older schools, nor the unconscious preparation given by a healthy society; which has been vouchsafed neither the joy of craft-work nor satisfactory family conditions; which may be ignorant even of all religious influence. Only lately have the State and the school been compelled to shoulder between them, in some cases almost unaided by other influence, responsibility for the training of the individual; and the problem now presented is the demarcation of the sphere of the school from that of the other deliberate agencies here loosely included in 'the State'. That the situation thus produced is deplorable may be admitted without the practical problem being in the least affected thereby. Until, by the joint effort of school and State, a newly educated generation has arisen, capable of so reconstructing society that home and industry may become again educative forces, responsibility for the well-being of the individual cannot return to the agencies which have lost the capacity to fulfil it.

Whatever, then, may happen in the future, the school cannot, at least for the present, conceive of its duties as narrowly as it has done in the past. Its aim—its ideal—is the development of the whole man; and although it will intelligently avoid overlapping with the efforts of other agencies, it must, according to its capacity, supply the needs of its scholars wherever they exist and of whatever nature they may be.

This revolutionary development of function has, where the primary schools are concerned, actually been taking place through the last half century. In the case of the Continuation Schools the new conception must be clearly recognized and formally acknowledged from the outset. This suggestion need cause no misgivings. I venture to assert, upon the basis of a not in-

considerable experience, that the higher the ideal for the Continuation School is pitched, the more prospect there is of its fulfilment. Many fine minds and attractive personalities—women who are social reformers by nature—men trained in traditions of public service—many to whom teaching in the formal sense is cramping and narrow, and who would naturally gravitate to spheres of political or commercial activity—are drawn to the Continuation Schools by the very magnitude of the task offered them. Reserves of national energy which the schools have never tapped before can be drawn upon by those Education Committees who will offer in their Continuation Schools scope for the ‘virtuous energies of a free spirit’. If the schools are to achieve success, it is vital that they accept some such view of their vocation as is here set forth.

What, then, in more detail, is the special work of the Continuation School? Education, it has been said, is always in theory a process of making men, always in practice a process of cobbling and patching men largely made by other agencies. And the Continuation School teacher is essentially a cobbler. He has to take the pupil described in the first chapter, to stabilize the interests already present, to counteract the agencies making for arrested development; to neutralize as far as possible the action of vicious social forces, and to lead psychic energy into new channels and on to higher levels.

As regards the stabilizing of the main interests. In the first place the pupil must be given opportunities for that satisfactory personal intercourse through which primarily a knowledge alike of his own possibilities and of his limitations can be obtained. Teacher and taught must come together in individual work, in quiet tutorial periods, in walks and talks, on journeys to and from the schools, in much informal gossip, during recesses or before and after the school session, in active collaboration on every possible matter.¹ Secondly, the school must become a real society and the scholar a real member thereof. He must find

¹ See further Chap. III.

his social salvation in group work,¹ in the evening club,² in the working of an active system of self government³—and the social sense which will thus develop may be widened, through formal teaching in history, civics, economics, and sociology, to include a sense of civic, national, even of international responsibility.⁴ Thirdly, the pressure of psychic energy into sex channels must be regulated, and as far as possible relieved. I forbear to dogmatize here, as I am conscious of having in my own teaching evaded this most vital problem. It is, however, far too urgent to be neglected with safety. Some attempts must be made to guide the development of sexual interests by cautious experiments in direct sex teaching on a physiological and scientific basis, by a discussion of sex problems on a literary or moral basis—using love poetry, the problem play, and the novel as a means of approach: and by the establishment of co-educational Continuation Schools, under wise guidance. The case for such measures appears to rest finally on the fact that no situation can arise which is more deplorable spiritually and psychologically speaking, than that at present prevailing among young industrial workers, though documentary evidence on this point is naturally not easily obtainable.

The whole question of sex teaching is, however, fraught with difficulties and dangers, the full extent of which psychology is only just beginning to reveal, and I feel myself to be on safer as well as on happier ground in suggesting that the best hope of a solution lies in 'sublimation'. Much of the psychic energy which in the case of the young wage-earner tends to flow into sex channels may be redirected into other channels. Arts and crafts, handwork of all kinds, recreative activities connected with the social club—all will provide alternative means of expression. Further, if the view that love and beauty are closely allied be true, development of the students' aesthetic interests will also help, though such development must, of course, be also pursued for its

¹ See Chap. IV.

² See Chap. IX.

³ See Chap. V.

⁴ See Chap. VII.

own sake. Provision must therefore be made for visits to concerts, theatres, and art galleries ; for membership of choirs and dramatic societies ; for lessons in painting and dancing ; for country walks ; for much free browsing over literature ; for all those pursuits in which the developing sense of beauty may find expression.

So much for the regulation of the 'personal' interests. There remain those objective interests which, it has been suggested, must develop upon the basis of the former. Through lessons in botany, geology, physics, mechanics, and chemistry the young wage-earner can be given an interest in his external environment, and his energy guided into objective and intellectual channels. Industrial workers are frequently stigmatized as utilitarian in interest and outlook, but to say this is simply to say that their external world is normally as narrowly conceived as is their social world. The aim for the Continuation teacher should therefore be to show the 'utility' of a knowledge of a wider world by showing the latter's connexion with the narrower world hitherto apprehended. And the thing to be marvelled at is, not the narrowness, under ordinary circumstances, of the pupil's interest, but the range and variety of interests which he can be induced to develop under the guidance of this all-important principle.¹

Next, as to the problem of giving the student a rational standard of morality. Since morality is social in its essence and conduct is probably far more truly a matter of skill than of knowledge, practice in social conduct is the all-important condition of moral development and must be given through participation in the life of the school society.² Beyond this the most important points are that the standards of conduct required should be steadily raised as opportunities for self-determination increase, and that they should not, if it can be helped, include any purely artificial standards adapted for school use but not for life in the great world. There should be, therefore, as few 'School Rules' as possible.

Explicit ethical theory should develop concurrently with the

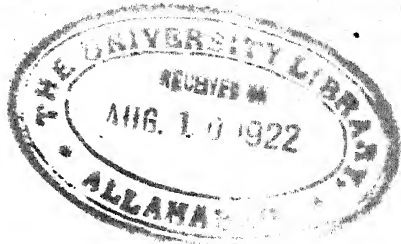
¹ See further Chap. VI.

² See further Chaps. V and IX.

evolution of social conduct. Through literature, through moral addresses, through the discussion of such ethical problems as arise in connexion with the normal activities of the school, the students can be led towards the development of a rational self and the formation of an ideal of conduct.

Lastly, as to the intellectual ideals which the school must try to develop. The young industrial worker must be trained on the one hand to adapt himself to the society into which he is stepping forth and to play his part as a member of it; on the other hand, he must be prepared for criticism and reconstruction as well as for acceptance of existing conditions. The Continuation School must declare war at once on an unintelligent belief in revolution for its own sake, and on the type of mind which accepts the *status quo* as a thing divinely ordained and to endure for all time, which can only think inside the existing order—never outside it.

Such, in outline, is the mission of the Continuation School. But the account here given—an account to be further elaborated in later chapters—may well call down upon itself a criticism whose validity is not here questioned. No school, even if staffed by archangels, can do all this, or even a tithe of it, in the eight hours a week allowed by the Fisher Act. But the teacher must make this fact at once his answer to all accusations of faulty, incomplete, and ineffective work, and the basis of his demand for further educational reform, for the gradual raising of the school-leaving age, the extension upward of the half-time system, and finally for a real equalization of educational opportunity among all classes of society.



III

THE CONTINUATION SCHOOL TEACHER

If this statement of the prime needs of the young wage-earner, and of the responsibility of the Continuation School in regard to him, be correct, then it follows that the Continuation School teacher must be much more than a 'teacher' in the narrow sense of the word. He must be first and foremost a student of human nature. He must abandon all hope of teaching any special subject to any standard, and must prepare instead to find interest and satisfaction in grappling with the personalities of those whom he is to teach. From his own vantage-ground, and along his own particular avenue of approach, he must attack, in unison with the rest of the staff, their common problem of 'making fine people'.

His activities, it has already been said, fall broadly under two headings—the stabilization of existing interests, and the building up of new ones. Both involve the direction and the control of the students' psychic energy. To gain such control is, therefore, an all-important preliminary operation, and much of the teacher's energy must, for this reason, if for no other, be directed to the perfecting of his own intercourse with his pupils.

'Make friends with your classes' should be the first axiom for the Continuation teacher. Time must be deliberately given to this process of 'winning love by love'. Much free discussion and informal conversation should be instituted from the outset. Poses must be dropped, and a frankness of manner and equality of address of the type so universally appreciated, which enhances rather than detracts from personal dignity, must be adopted. Codes of courtesy must be absolutely reciprocal. Every student must be treated as an individual, and an individual of value. Above all, the atmosphere of the school must be one of dignity,

gentleness, and kindness—all suggestion of harshness or of ‘hustle methods’ must be eliminated. The problem of time is, it has been said, the one insoluble problem for Continuation Schools. But this is only true so long as the instillation of a minimum quantity of knowledge is the object in hand. If the aim be the ‘winning love by love’, then the time-factor is the first to be ignored.

The analogy between the task of the Continuation teacher and that of the psycho-analyst is obvious. The process of gaining the pupil’s confidence corresponds to the ‘transference’ stage of treatment; the freeing and release of energy into new channels to the process of ‘sublimation’.

As regards the first stage, the ease and rapidity with which the transference is often effected will startle the teacher not prepared for it. Yet, granted the conditions previously pointed out—the craving of the adolescent wage-earner for personal intercourse; his ready response to those moral ideas which arise so readily in connexion with his relations with others; his lack of objective interests—the phenomenon is explicable.

My personal conviction is, in fact, that those passionate attachments whose development in adolescents has formed the theme of much current literature, will in Continuation Schools arise inevitably and apart from the deliberate policy here advocated; that, in fact, only some such deliberate policy, having sublimation as the end in view, can counteract their capacity for evil. While still unconscious of the existence of the problem, and long before I had evolved a policy in relation to it, I was awakened to its urgency by hearing from the mother of one of my pupils, of a devotion which was then taking undesirable forms. In the worst case known to me—where girls were found kissing and embracing the belongings of a favoured mistress and waiting for hours in the cold in order to conduct her from school to the tram—the attachment was based purely on personal attractiveness and entirely unaffected by policy, and there was no hope, as far as I could see, of sublimation taking place.

The policy for the Continuation teacher must then be to regard the interest and affection which may thus be focused upon him, neither as a testimony to his own personal value, nor as an unhealthy phenomenon to be repudiated and repressed (since the danger of such repression is becoming every day more apparent), but as an opportunity for skilled and valuable work. His duty is to guide into new and worthier channels energy thus given into his control ; to reveal to his pupils the worlds of art, of craftsmanship, of social service ; to do new and delightful things in their company ; to stimulate them to read, dance, walk, sketch, discuss, play games, in order that they may finally leave him behind in the pursuit of new and more absorbing interests.

Two qualities, then, are above all essential to the Continuation teacher. He must possess a personality which attracts his pupils, enabling him to secure, with a class possessing as yet no objective interests, that control of energy which is a condition of effective development. He must be a person of wide interests, able successfully to sublimate and redirect the energy so controlled.

It must not, however, be supposed that this preliminary process is always an easy one. Formidable resistance will sometimes be offered, and for its overcoming the teacher will need not only innate qualities but also control of a special technique. It has already been indicated that the Continuation pupil is predominantly the product of suggestion ; the power to wield counter-suggestion is therefore at this stage the teacher's most powerful ally. I make no apology for this statement, as until some standard of truth has been given and the rational self developed (which will not be in the initial stages of the Continuation School movement) there is no other way of counteracting those hostile suggestions whereof the student is already the prey.

The type of suggestion employed must be such as will remove the obstacles and resistances tending to prevent transference. It must be directed steadily to foster a belief that things are going well ; that teacher and taught are on the best possible terms ; that the school is popular, the work valuable ; that friendliness,

co-operation, and industry are the order of the day. If the teacher must pose, his most effective attitude will be to regard any departure from the above order of things as exceptional—almost incomprehensible, and to be willing to accept any rational explanation of departures from the standard set. The most fatal thing he can do is avowedly to anticipate, or to take steps against resistance. The height of un wisdom is a threat in anticipation of a specific crime. It has, for example, repeatedly been my experience that, if a case of pilfering in school is kept dark, it will also be kept within limits, but, if the suggestion of criminality is publicly made and threats promulgated, a perfect epidemic of similar cases will occur. Again, a suggestion such as I once heard made: 'Now girls, it is the end of the day, and a hot afternoon, and you are all very tired, and therefore I want you to make a special effort'—will produce inevitably a bored and listless class.

The following three cases of suggestion on saner lines were reported to me by students in training. The first occurred during the student's first lesson with a difficult class, and was directed to counter a suggestion of unfriendliness:

'I began by saying I was sorry I did not know the girls' names, whereupon a girl in the front row jumped up and called out rudely, "Well, my name is Kathleen, if you want to know". I replied politely, "Oh, thank you, Kathleen; will you make me a list of the other people in the class?" She knuckled under like a lamb and made about six lists—tearing them up one after the other because the writing was not good enough.'

In the next case recalcitrancy on the part of a difficult girl is conquered by the suggestion that it does not really exist. A debate is in progress:

'When it was Gertrude's turn to come out and address the class she sat tight in her seat. I said to the others, "Now girls—be quick and move your desks—you see that Gertrude cannot get out." They all jumped up and did so, and Gertrude came as meekly as can be.'

In the third case, unwillingness to work is countered by the suggestion that the work is of value :

‘When I went into the room I could not hear myself speak, so I sat down and began to read the paper. The noise continued. I went on reading. Presently the boys in the front row became quiet. I said, “I will give the lesson to you boys in front. Pass atlases along the front row only. If any boy at the back would like to join in he can let me know.” Chorus : “Please, Miss, we all want one.”’

Inattention or laziness can frequently be met by questions such as ‘Have you no book?’ ‘Can you see all right?’ ‘Can I help you at all?’—questions intended to suggest that lack of interest is the least likely cause of the trouble. Similarly, the writer has found that the most effective way of interesting a class in silent reading is to get deep into a book herself, thus suggesting that the occupation is of all the most entrancing.

Suggestion of this type is effective, mainly by reason of its superficial resemblance to a much more fundamental, truer, and more vital source of successful work—a real faith in human nature.

The difference, in fact, between the successful and unsuccessful Continuation teacher, is largely a difference of mental attitude. The suggestion wielded by the former is based upon faith, faith in its turn upon knowledge.

The successful teacher is he who has experience of the ‘war in his own members’; who knows how many selves are ‘housed under one roof’; who has seen one set of conditions make of man a god, another a beast; whose sympathetic insight can penetrate a forbidding exterior; whose familiarity with the circumstances under which the young wage-earner lives and works enables him to make every necessary allowance. His understanding helps him to interpret signs which the unobservant would miss; to read his pupils’ thoughts in their faces; to give full credit for motive and intention. He is sensitive to atmosphere; responsive to the moods of his class; able to anticipate

its wishes; slow to anger, and regardless of slights which he knows are unintended. Such a one conquers resistance, disaffection, and apathy by the simple process of ignoring them; by a steady friendliness which takes reciprocity for granted; by an appeal directed persistently and single-mindedly to the better self which he knows to be dormant in every student. He accepts no challenge; for he does not see one when it is offered. It is impossible to insult him, for he would not recognize an insult were it intended. He is free from self-consciousness, and therefore from panic, suppressed anger, and readiness to take offence. His energy is completely extroverted and set free for effective work. He has no thought of gratitude or appreciation, and therefore does not resent their apparent absence. Even his enthusiasm for his 'subjects' has been swallowed up in his interest in those whom he has to teach. Thus he has secured the trust, confidence, and appreciation which would otherwise have been denied him. The suggestion which he wields is, in short, suggestion no longer. It has become something far more real—a 'winning of love by love'. The resistances offered have been overcome; and sublimation has been made possible—though this time by a circuitous instead of a direct route.

The process of sublimation will be studied in detail in several succeeding chapters.¹ Suffice it here to say that this basis of mutual understanding makes possible the exploration, by pupil and teacher conjointly, of the worlds of beauty, truth, and goodness, in so far as time and energy will allow. But whenever energy fails, or threatens to seek again the old channels, the original personal appeal must be made and will rarely be unsuccessful. In the following case, for example, a class with which I was upon the best of terms was suddenly and collectively guilty of a lapse from mutually accepted standards. The backsliding had been such as, in my opinion, demanded an appeal upon personal rather than on moral grounds. I therefore let it be known that no official notice would be taken of the occurrence,

¹ Chaps. IV to IX.

but that friendly relations between myself and the class would cease. The result was a batch of written apologies (from all but two members of the class), from which the following passages are quotations :

‘When I think about it properly it is downright mean of us. Winnie and I have decided to turn a new leaf over and work as best we can so as to be your friends.’

‘If you will trust me once more in your good books and give me a clean slate I will turn over a new leaf and try to get a very good character. We have given you a lot of trouble, but I hope we shall all be different and once more become friends. Hoping soon to be your loving scholar as before.’

‘If I had known how much it meant to you I should never have done it, and I earnestly hope that such a thing will never occur again.’

‘I do not think we realized the seriousness of the thing at the time, but afterwards when I had thought it over I felt very much ashamed of myself. I hate to be unfriendly with anyone, and still more to hurt their feelings, so I do hope you will forgive me and be friends again.’

It is my belief that such friendliness as is here advocated is the supreme condition of successful work. There are other personal qualities, however, to which the Continuation student is extremely sensitive, of which two only need be mentioned here. There is the dignity which is based upon genuine breadth of interest and outlook, and which is the only safe antidote to familiarity. (Smallness of any kind will be condemned more surely in the Continuation School than anywhere.) There is the ready fund of humour—the capacity to laugh with one’s class though not at them—whose surest foundation is a working sense of proportion.

Comments such as the following indicate the qualities recognized and valued, by the Continuation student, in the people with whom he has to deal :

‘It looked so nice to see you like the motto—“Always Merry and Bright”.’

'I think she could put a smile on her face sometimes, don't you?'

'He treats us as though we had not any feelings.'

'You know they always say a horse will go about its work better when it is being encouraged than when it is being driven.'

'We don't like her because she can't keep no control over us.'

'The new teacher is very nice, but the girls have too much of their own way with her.'

'She talks to us about things that mistresses ought not to talk to girls about—boys and dress and dances.'

At the risk, however, of ending upon a note of anti-climax, it must here be suggested that the art of teaching, in common with other arts, consists largely in knowing 'where to stop'; that the natural reserves and reticences of personality must be respected in the case of one's pupils as of one's friends. I am conscious that, in this matter, my own zeal has on certain occasions outrun discretion. For example, having once intervened in, and after much labour settled, a quarrel of long standing between two prefects, which threatened to wreck the success of a self-governing experiment, I was offered a crop of similar problems for solution.

The first intervention was justified, as was shown by results, and by the following:

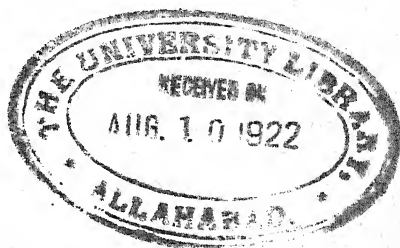
'Miss Phillips, I can never forget you for what you did for Lottie and I when you came to visit us that Friday afternoon. You proved a friend to us for staying with us such a long time. It does not seem that I have paid you back in a nice way, but I have not forgotten you. I have thought about your kind words many a time since. Lottie and I are the best of friends again now. We never think of that time when we did not speak.'

But the story on the next occasion had a different ending. A particularly wise and perspicacious friend warned me against the adoption of 'scruff of the neck' methods, but I was not convinced of un wisdom until one of my pupils, speaking of

two friends whose feud had thus been 'healed' *ab extra*, remarked :

' Ellen and Freda have never spoken since that day you came and got them friends. Ellen told Freda she had asked you to get them friends, and Freda said, " Well, if I had known that I would not have spoken ", and she has not spoken since.'

Perhaps, then, the final word in pedagogy is the realization that in the last resort no human being can save another's soul for him, and that ultimate responsibility does not rest with the teacher.



IV

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GROUP

It was said originally that one of the most striking characteristics of wage-earning adolescence is its domination by the crowd. The average Continuation School student lives, moves, and has his being in a crowd, and has always done so. In the primary school, at work, and to a less degree in the home and the street, he is less an individual than a member of a mob. That this should be so is a deplorable fact, and one urgently needing remedy. From the point of view both of society and of the individual, mob rule and mob membership are dangerous and undesirable things.

It is possible, indeed, to trace nearly all existing political evils to this source ; to argue that the individual who has spent all his life in a crowd, where thought is at a low ebb and feeling on an elementary plane, will, if he acts independently, act only in his selfish interests. Hence the low level, during the last century, of individual life on the one hand and of social life on the other. Hence in the industrial world, chaos and competition and the feud between capital and labour ; in the social world, class hatreds, racial prejudices, the force of custom, and the hypnotic power of the press. Hence in politics the possession of the public mind by a series of inconsequent catchwords, the swing of the political pendulum, and sudden and disastrous reversals of public policy. Hence in international affairs wars and constant rumours thereof.

The situation has been diagnosed, and the remedy indicated, by Miss M. P. Follett in *The New State*, and it is not my wish to duplicate her work. More pertinent would be a quotation from Miss Follett's introduction :

'The twentieth century must find a new principle of association. Crowd philosophy, crowd government, crowd patriotism must go.

Group organization is to be the new method in politics, the basis of our future industrial system, the foundation of international order.'

Such, it would appear, is the only remedy. The social and political problems of the moment are entirely beyond the capacity of any individual, working in isolation, to solve. Fortunately, however, experience has shown that the individual is as capable of action upon a level above the normal one, as he is capable of action upon a level below it: and action of the former type is characteristic of the group as action of the latter type is characteristic of the crowd.

If the change is to come upon anything like a general scale, it must be largely the work of the schools. 'Living together' is a skilled process requiring early training and constant practice; there is little, therefore, to be expected, in this direction, from the last generation. Observations of the deliberations of almost any committee or public body—beyond, perhaps, those of the Society of Friends, with whom 'integrated thought' is a tradition—will convince even an enthusiast of the difficulty of inducing men, trained in the particularism of the last century, to think and work together in the sense here intended. Yet the tragic fact is that at the moment the primary schools of this country are, even more completely than ever before, training a generation in the tradition of crowd life. The class of sixty, with its teacher versed in class management and able to secure, by force of personal suggestion, a unanimous and uncritical response, is a perfect anticipation of the suggestible mob swayed by a skilled orator.

The solution of the problem, as of so many others, lies then with the Continuation Schools, and if these can find it they will amply justify their existence. One condition is, however, so important that without it success is impossible. Classes must be reasonably small. With sixteen or twenty pupils group-work can be cheerfully undertaken. It can be attempted with twenty-five. I have not found it possible with a larger number. Yet there is a dangerous tendency at the moment for authorities preparing

schemes to revise their estimates on a basis of thirty-five students to a class. If this occurs, so much of the potential value of the Continuation School will have disappeared that the remnant will hardly be worth fighting for, and the field may as well be left to the reactionaries.

The work of preparing the individual for group-life, assuming it to be possible, lies in two directions. In the first place care and attention must be given to the individual as seen in isolation. He must be released from his crude ego, and from blind dependence on others. He must become less suggestible and more rational. He must be fitted to make a unique and valuable contribution to the group-life whose development is the second of the teacher's tasks.

The training of the individual in independence of thought, taste, or action is a formidable task. The average Continuation student of my acquaintance, for example, suffers torture if asked to enter a strange room in a factory unsupported by a companion; if in any respect differently dressed from her fellows; if obliged to walk home or to work by herself; if she arrives at a school social when proceedings are already in progress; if any incident occurs to call attention to her personally. The stigma of peculiarity is the stigma most dreaded. Her haven of bliss is a haven of self-effacement in a crowd. The offer of a bedroom—even in some cases of a bed—to herself fills her with terror. Her idea of a 'lonely road', only to be traversed with trepidation, is forty yards of pavement with no houses on either side. A long day alone is misery unsupportable. A girl of seventeen, of whom I was extremely fond, refused to pay me a holiday visit, though anxious to do so, unless her best friend came too, to provide moral support and a species of Dutch courage.

For such a student, sympathetic understanding combined with gradual encouragement to follow her own bent is the best cure. She must be led slowly to discover herself. She must be given scope and, as far as possible, free choice of pursuits. There is no *prima facie* reason, once the hypnotic force of primary school

tradition has been overcome, why every student in a class should be doing the same thing at the same time. Hence the value of small classes, of an elastic curriculum and time-table, of free periods in which students may follow their own devices (to induce them to use this time well is a pedagogic triumph), and of opportunity for varied recreative activity in connexion with the social club.

To give a few simple examples. One of the most valuable features of a social club is a quiet evening on which students may read, write letters, look at pictures, paint Christmas cards, copy out poetry or music, paste cuttings into scrap-books, or talk to the teachers in charge, as inclination suggests. Needlework and cookery classes are most educational where students are encouraged to choose their own work. The provision for each girl, in connexion with gymnastic and domestic work, of her own equipment—of something to call her own—has a morally stabilizing effect. In connexion with literature, where surely a wide latitude of taste is permissible, much individual variation should be allowed. Students should choose their own novels for quiet reading, their own poetry for recitation, and as far as possible their own themes for writing: discussing all these freely with each other and with the teacher. They should make their own anthologies, containing both prose and poetry. They should be encouraged to make, for their own private satisfaction or for that of their friends and families, a collection of their own best work. Similarly they should embellish their history and geography notebooks with maps, newspaper cuttings, and illustrations, as suits them. Not uniformity, but diversity should be the ideal. The spirit of the Continuation School, it has been well said, should be the spirit of the library, of the laboratory, and of the workshop.

But the ideal to be aimed at is not diversity alone, but diversity in unity—and the counterpart of this liberation of the individual is the development of a group-life. Such development is possible in the self-governing scheme and social club later to be

¹ See further Chap. VIII.

described, but also in the intellectual, aesthetic, and creative activities for which the curriculum, in a narrow sense, will provide. Every one of these activities can be transformed in the light of the group ideal. Plays can be acted and entertainments prepared; manual training classes can make equipment for use in school and club; needlework classes can contribute the costumes to a historical pageant; cookery classes can cater for school socials and picnics, and can provide delicacies for sick students. In every case the object of the work may be the welfare of the group, but in no case need the contribution made by any two students be identical.

For activity of this type the Continuation student is in some measure prepared, if not by his experience in the elementary school, yet at least by his life in the factory. Whatever may be said of the general principles upon which industry is at the moment conducted, it must be admitted that the internal organization of a factory is carried out in the interests of economy and efficiency. Work is only undertaken in response to a demand which is in principle a social demand, and if one article only is required, twenty machines are not kept busy making duplicates.

To ask twenty members of a Continuation Class, therefore, to work out the same experiment, to reproduce the same story, to write the same letter, or to solve the same problem, is, by factory standards, to ask for useless repetition, involving waste of effort, and will provoke immediately the perpetually recurring question, 'What is the good of this?' The well-organized workshop, rather than the primary school class, is the type to which the Continuation Class should conform, and the teacher's rôle should be that of foreman, rather than of orator. There is nothing to which the Continuation student will respond so whole heartedly as the allotment of a unique task in the public interest—the indication of a piece of work which he and he only can perform; since this alone can satisfy, while reconciling, his conflicting desires to assert himself and to merge himself in the whole.

Further, a very practical problem confronting the teacher may

be solved more satisfactorily on group lines than in any other way. Whatever efforts may be made, in the Continuation School, to grade students,¹ any class will contain a diversity of ability, of interest, of trade and of temperament, which is the despair of the teacher who would manage his class by mass methods, but which provides the very material out of which a group-life can be evolved.

But it is time to give practical examples of what is intended. Group-methods can, in my opinion, be applied to any activity. The examples here given are, however, drawn from the group of subjects later to be described as 'social subjects,'² and this for two reasons. Firstly, 'integrated thought' is perhaps even more difficult than is integrated action, and in connexion with these studies, it would appear, opportunities for group-thinking will most naturally arise. Secondly, my own experiments have mainly been made along these lines, and I am anxious not to speak without book.

Perhaps the most popular method of training group-thinking, as distinguished from group-research or group-appreciation, is through the medium of debates. On the conduct of these I have little to add to what has been said by Messrs. Caldwell Cook in the *Play Way*, and W. S. Tomkinson in the *Teaching of English*. I would merely vouch for the fact that debates are as successful with adolescent girls of the wage-earning type as with primary or secondary school boys.

Extracts from letters may be relevant here :

'The question at school just at present is, what will be the best subject for a debate. One person suggests one thing and another person another; then ensues a violent discussion upon which is the best. However, up to the present moment we have not got a suitable topic. A subject will tumble from some unknown quarter, no doubt, or else the thing will drop through altogether. Most likely the latter—for it is just the latest craze we have got.'

'Best of luck at the new school, and I hope you will succeed in getting some good debates. I love them.'

¹ See, further, Note on some Administrative Problems.

² See Chaps. VI and VII.

'I want you to think of me on Friday, and *pray for me*. Alice Beauchamp and I are leading a debate, and it is fixed for Friday, the subject being, 'Is the modern girl degenerating?' or 'Is she worse than the girl of Grandma's day?' Both of us are feeling rather timid, but intend to see it through. I should like to have asked your help and advice in the matter, as Miss Newton says we may obtain points from any one.'

Where wage-earning students are concerned several considerations are important. The debate should provide training in dignity and courtesy as well as in speaking, and to this end proceedings should be kept formal. It should give real practice in speaking and thinking, and not in the reading of written essays. Hence the notes employed by speakers should be as condensed as possible. Further, the subject debated should not be in the nature of a 'bolt from the blue'; it should have relation to the interests and activities of the school at the moment or to the affairs of the world outside.

I have seen successful debates conducted by adolescent boys on the following topics :

That a Channel Tunnel is desirable.

That Picture Palaces should be abolished.

That Ireland should have Home Rule.

That Flying is a curse rather than a blessing to mankind.

That the training of animals for circus-work should be prohibited.

That kindness is better than punishment in schools.

That the Scout movement should be encouraged.

That War is unnecessary and undesirable.

That the use of machinery has benefited mankind.

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And among adolescent girls :

That women should have the vote.

That the school-leaving age should be raised to sixteen.

That Christian customs should be kept up.

That the life of a boy is pleasanter than the life of a girl.

That strikes may be justifiable.

That there should be a legal minimum wage in every industry.

That women's life is pleasanter to-day than it was a century ago.

That the entrance of women into industry has been a bad thing for the nation.

In each case the subject for debate, chairman, and principal speakers were chosen a week beforehand, and public notice of the debate was posted. Sometimes speeches were prepared at home—and this was willingly done with a social end in view where compulsory homework would have aroused opposition. Sometimes a free period was devoted to preliminary informal discussion, the consulting of books, and the writing of notes. The chairman was in complete charge of proceedings, calling on members to speak, and taking the opinion of the meeting at the close. A Minute-book was kept and a record of proceedings written up. A specimen page from the Minute-book is given in Appendix A.

But debates of the above type—where the aim is not to arrive at the truth but to make out a case one way or the other, and where opinion goes by majority-vote—are, in my opinion, less valuable than are those discussions which arise naturally in connexion with school committee meetings—where the object is really to integrate thought, and to arrive at a course of action acceptable to all. To quote Miss Follett again :

‘We are beginning to see now that the majority-rule is only a clumsy make-shift until we shall devise ways of getting at the genuine collective thought. In many committees, boards, and commissions we see now a reluctance to take action until all agree. There is a feeling that somehow, if we keep at it long enough, we can unify our ideas and our wills, and there is also a feeling that such unification of will has value; that our work will be vastly more effective in consequence. How different from our old methods, when we were bent merely upon getting enough on our side to carry the meeting with us.’

Membership of school committee, club committee, or prefects’

committee is, however, limited to a few ; it is desirable therefore that class activities involving real integration of thought be undertaken. The issue of a magazine, the writing of a play, the organization of 'symposia' of all sorts, are activities of this type. The happiest half-day which I remember in my teaching career—when students and teacher became alike oblivious of time—was spent with a class of twenty students employed upon a magazine, as follows :

A, B. Producing a report of recent school events.

C, D. Reviewing books which they had recently read.

E, F, G, H. Writing original stories and original poetry.

I. Writing the Editorial.

J. Producing sketches illustrative of the 'Current Events' article.

K, L, M, N. Decorating magazine covers in water-colours.

O. (An adept at script writing) printing the copy on the cyclostyle.

P, Q. Taking off copies from cyclostyle.

R. Cutting and folding paper.

S. Arranging printed sheets in order ready for binding.

T. Binding and tying up copies—trimming edges.

In this class P, Q, R, S, T were students to whom the ordinary English lesson would make no appeal. A, B, C, and D were girls of average ability. J, K, L, M, N were gifted artistically, and E, F, G, and H, once the 'social motive' had unlocked the sealed sources of energy, proved to be talented and prolific writers.

Play-writing and play-producing are other types of activity involving integrated thought. Here again I would not attempt to repeat what has been said by Mr. Caldwell Cook. Suffice it to say that the scope provided for all the talents is even more obvious than in the case of magazine-writing. The fact that all are not gifted as authors or actors is no bar to group-action, since A may act as stage-manager, B as prompter, C as tirewoman, D as call-boy, E and F as scene-shifters, G, H, I, J, K as costume

designers and needlewomen; L may have charge of the music, and M of the 'noises off'.

Next, for an example of group-work of a more purely intellectual type. If group-research of any kind is to be undertaken the school must be equipped not so much with sets of duplicate apparatus, duplicate books, as with a variety of books of reference and books by different authors on the same subject. Suppose, for example, it is desirable that a class should know something of Mythology. Instead of twenty copies of one book being used at the same moment, the teacher should make it his business to collect from far and near versions of mythological stories by various authors. These are distributed among the class, which splits up into groups of two or three, each group being engaged on a different story. One girl reads the story softly to her companions (a moderate-sized room will hold six or eight groups, which need not thus disturb each other); and the story is reproduced by one of the listeners, prompted if necessary by the others. Finally, the story may be rehearsed to the teacher, who visits each group in turn. The class then re-assembles, and one girl chosen from each group tells the prepared story to the class. In this way six or eight stories are read in the place, probably, of one or two by the alternative method, and to the final result every member of the class has contributed. Similarly, if Ballad study is the order of the day, each group can be set to prepare a ballad, involving probably four or five characters, plus the 'narrator', and the prepared ballads can be read or recited in character by each group in turn to the assembled class. Here again, given the 'social motive', learning by heart will be willingly undertaken.

Or, the class is studying the life and works of Wordsworth. Two girls prepare a large map of the Lake District; two more one of the Quantocks. Two voracious readers skim through parts of Dorothy Wordsworth's journal together, and make a collection of extracts which are to be read to the class. Two more draw up, with any recognized biography as a basis, a time chart

of the principal events in Wordsworth's life. The remainder are engaged in learning selections from his poems by heart. Finally a 'field day' is held, on which recitations, readings, and 'lecturettes' on the prepared work, illustrated by the maps, are given by the chosen members of each group. It is my experience that when work of this type has once been got going the presence or absence of the teacher at any given minute will make little difference to the progress of the work.

Another simple example of 'integrated' thinking, involving this time no apparatus :

A Continuation Class, which expected a party of visitors, prepared a species of 'group lecture'. A list of topics for lecturettes was drawn up and topics allotted to various members. Oral descriptions were prepared of the model village wherein the school was situated ; of the various rooms in the factory to which the school was attached ; of the processes carried on therein ; the welfare activities of the firm ; the sources whence the raw material was derived ; the markets to which the finished product was exported. The dovetailing of the various accounts, to avoid overlapping, was a difficult piece of work, and the 'lesson' in which the programme was thrashed out provided a most valuable exercise in group-thinking—and incidentally showed the necessity for such exercise. Proceedings in the final lesson were controlled by the prefect acting as chairman.

The History lesson provides opportunities for group-work of two main types. In the first place, its subject-matter lends itself easily to collective research of the kind already suggested in connexion with the life of Wordsworth.

Two examples are given :

1. The Class is studying the History of Parliamentary Reform during the Nineteenth Century. Tasks may be allotted as follows :

A and B prepare a map of the distribution of Parliamentary seats in England before the Act of 1832.

C and D prepare a similar map after the Act.

E and F make a chart of the principal events in Parliamentary History during the period.

G and H read Stanley Weyman's *Chippinge* with a view giving selected readings to the class.

I, J, K, L, M, N prepare to give a dramatic representation of a Hustings election, possibly with some such account as that given in *Pickwick Papers* as a basis—and with the rest of the class acting as the crowd.

2. The class is at work on the History of the Great Rebellion.

A and B prepare a map showing the distribution of parties on the outbreak of war.

C and D make a time chart of the chief events of the war.

E, F, G, H draw plans of the main battles.

I and J read Marjorie Bowen's novel *The Governor of England*, with a view to rendering relevant extracts to the class. The most dramatic scenes may be read in character.

K and L (students of exceptional ability) read one or two of Cromwell's great speeches—as, for example, that on the opening of Barebones Parliament, and prepare to render extracts from them.

M learns Cromwell's last prayer by heart.

N, O, and P learn Macaulay's poem on the Battle of Naseby, and two of Browning's Cavalier songs.

Q and R make sketches from reference books of the armour and weapons used in the Civil War.

So much for collective research in History. Secondly, since History is itself very largely the story of the action of groups rather than of individuals, the reproductions of past activities will give endless opportunities for group-work. Parliamentary debates, meetings of parish councils, municipal councils and committees, Whitley councils and trade boards, can all be held in class. Meetings of the council, assembly, and permanent commissions of the League of Nations should provide similar exercises in the future.

The proceedings of Committees of Inquiry and Royal

Commissions can be rehearsed with the aid of the official records. Here again my experience is that, given a social motive, selected members of each class can be relied upon to make quite laborious efforts in preparation for such activities. I have persuaded girls of fifteen or sixteen, for example, to undertake (always in couples) journeys to libraries at some distance from their homes, to consult back files of newspapers, Government Blue Books, and records of Parliamentary debates, and to take therefrom full notes of speeches made or of evidence given.

Appendix B contains facsimiles of the instructions issued, on different occasions, to Continuation Classes in connexion with work of this type.

I am aware that criticism will be passed by sceptics upon many of the proposals here made, and wish therefore to answer one or two likely objections. The latter will be based probably upon an assumption which the present chapter and the succeeding one are intended to combat, that the business of the Continuation School is to instil the maximum amount of knowledge. It is my belief, however, that even granted this assumption the objections can be met.

‘Group-work proceeds slowly and takes much time.’ To this it may be answered that the impression which it makes is vivid and permanent (as can actually be proved by examination tests); that at least it avoids the danger of a torrent of talk passing over the students’ heads—or in at one ear and out of the other, and that relatively little time has to be wasted in overcoming resistances or providing artificial incentives to industry. Further, that group-work may actually be economical of time (as in the case of the lessons on ballads and myths suggested above) if range and variety of experience be the object of the lesson.

‘Group-work provides opportunity for idleness’. So, with all due deference to the teacher, does the formal oral lesson. The Continuation scholar taught by mass methods soon acquires the knack of fixing an intelligent look on his face and of day-dreaming, or lapsing into lethargy, behind it. Even steady heckling does

not entirely remedy this ; and such heckling is, in practice, often omitted. It is perfectly true that a girl whose mind is running on a new dress or a coming School Social may gossip about it during the group-lesson. But in the formal lesson her mind is even more likely to be far away, for she has not the positive stimulus to industry which the social motive, and the infectious enthusiasm of her fellows, may provide. Group-work does not so much develop the disease as allow the symptoms to manifest themselves ; and this is surely all to the good—except where appearances are all-important.

‘The scholar may perform conscientiously his own task, but there is no guarantee that he has grasped the group-effort as a whole.’ This again may be true of his attitude to the oral lesson, which probably exists as a beautifully rounded-off whole in the mind of the teacher only, each individual scholar carrying away a different fragment thereof. The difficulty is, in fact, connected with the natural ‘rhythm of attention’ and with the fragmentary quality of all experience, and can hardly, human nature being what it is, be otherwise. It is possible, however that the type of ‘connexion’ provided by the scholar’s own active efforts is stronger and more real than the more logical connexion presented ready-made by the teacher.

‘Group-work provides opportunity for disorder.’ But this is true in its early stages only, and surely there is no greater proof of its urgency, and of the failure of mass methods, than is offered by the suggestion that to introduce a class to group-work is to court disaster. The babel and confusion which terrify the faint-hearted teacher during his early experiments in group-work are the result of a rush of repressed energy through a momentary breach in the dike. The dam may be broken down and the waters allowed to spread themselves, in which case if the first rush can be weathered the flood will gradually subside and a normal level be reached. Or the dike may be raised and strengthened, with ultimate results of the type described in the first pages of the present chapter.

‘What is the use of attempting ambitious group-work with

a class many of whom are not yet proficient in the three R's?' This latter fact, if true, surely constitutes the strongest possible condemnation of the methods hitherto employed. Mass teaching, in fact, moves at a certain fixed rate, which may be the rate of the average intellect, but which wastes the time of abler minds and leaves dullards uncomprehendingly in the rear. If group-work is undertaken it can at least be adapted to individual ability. Further, if it be true, as here suggested, that the social motive will unlock supplementary stores of energy and interest, then ambitious work stands a far better chance of successful accomplishment than does elementary work, and my own experience confirms this.

'Group-work can only be successfully carried on with small classes.' Agreed: but subdivision of classes for group-purposes can be compensated by further massing of classes for formal lectures. The Continuation School student needs, in fact, to be inoculated against a crowd, and if he is to behave rationally later, should be accustomed during adolescence to membership of large bodies.

'Group-work is exhausting for the teacher.' Admitted—and this is probably the main practical barrier against its introduction. The teacher who would undertake it cannot live from hand to mouth, but must think and plan well ahead. He will need to spend more time in hunting up reference books, and in devising suitable exercises, than he would otherwise spend in preparing oral lessons. He must spare no pains to know his pupils individually, in order to provide for each work suited to his capacity. Further, while the work is actually in progress he must carry the plan of the whole in his mind, and yet be able to turn his attention rapidly from one aspect of the subject to the next in accordance with the needs of each group. But if the teacher can fulfil these demands he will be performing a greater work than that of supplying information, though he may do this efficiently by the way. He will be training his students for more effective membership of society than has been possible in the past.

V

ORDER AND DISCIPLINE

It was suggested in the previous chapter that the essential change to be carried out by the Continuation School was the change from 'suggestible' to 'rational' thought and action on the part of its pupils; and that this change involved the fostering of individual life and of group-life, in opposition to the life of the crowd. Some indications were given of means whereby the intellectual activities of the school might be transformed in accordance with this ideal. In this chapter suggestions will be made for carrying out similar changes on the moral no less than on the intellectual plane. The change involved is the change from 'order' to 'discipline'.

The two terms are in this book sharply distinguished, though in popular usage—largely under the influence of military tradition—they are often synonymous. Keeping order is the exercise, in the sphere of conduct, of that power of suggestion which has been advocated as the teacher's starting-point.¹ It involves the elimination of resistances—of contrariant ideas—of moral conflict. It aims at making the student's path plain, easy, and unmistakable, so that nothing remains for him but to walk in it. It involves, not the rational solution of moral problems, but the suggestion that no such problems exist. Its object is not to secure the active co-operation of the pupil, but to eliminate his will as a factor from the situation. It calls upon him for passive and negative virtues such as obedience and quiescence—for all such qualities as involve 'the surrender of that initiative which is the essence of the rational self'.

And the product of the process is in line with its aim. The

¹ See Chap. III.

'orderly' individual accepts uncritically whatever moral code is suggested by his fellows, or by external authority, or by both. He has no criterion, but is at the mercy of every wind that blows. He is the result of a one-sided process—a relentless pressure on the one hand, and an unquestioning submission on the other. The disciplined individual, on the other hand, is master of his fate and captain of his soul. He can choose among the conflicting suggestions offered to him. He has a standard whereby to criticize and modify, while accepting, the beliefs and institutions of his age. His interaction with his social environment is a real interaction. He is, in short, the product of reason as opposed to suggestion.

The writer would not suggest that 'order' as here understood is either pernicious or unnecessary. On the contrary, much formal teaching always, and nearly all originally, must proceed with its help. Moral training is not the whole of life; and when other matters are on the carpet, moral problems must of necessity be kept in the background. But ignoring a problem is not the same thing as solving it, and where there is most order there may be least discipline.

The Continuation teacher may, in practice, often have to choose between the two. Limitations of time may compel him to decide between the urgency of intellectual and aesthetic expansion on the one hand, and of moral development on the other. And he will enlist under the banner of order or of discipline according as he elects to 'get some work done' or to concentrate on 'making fine people'.

He may, of course, refuse to recognize the validity of the distinction, believing with the Greeks that with a desire for truth and a training in taste will come a recognition and love of right conduct; that his pupil will proceed from 'fair forms to fair practices, and from fair practices to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty'. But he will then have to reckon with those facts which are so patent, and whereof so much capital has recently been made by the opponents of the 'formal training' theory—that the scientist or highly developed

intellectualist may be a man of extreme anti-social tendency; that the artist is not necessarily either a good man or a good citizen in any ordinary sense; that even the philosopher may come to grief over his relations with his family or with the State; that ability in one field of human activity by no means necessarily denotes competence in others.

He may therefore decide that specific moral training must be given; that his courses of instruction shall include instruction in ethics; that his literature, history, and science shall be used wherever possible as pegs on which to hang moral truths; that his curriculum, in short, shall be as liberal and as humane as he can make it. But even so he has still to meet that suggestive school of modern thought which, in the absence of any generally accepted psychology of conduct, sees the moral act less as the solution of an intellectual problem than as an intuitive response to a situation intuitively apprehended; and which believes that the training required for the production of such a response is a training in skill and in the technique of moral conduct even more than in moral principle. Moral ideals are, from this point of view, useful as guideposts and landmarks, but to regard any particular problem as a special case of a general principle may be to go fatally wrong in practice, since every concrete situation will contain features which exhaust all theory. To this school the act of duty is, in the words of Dr. Bosanquet, 'the act which is adapted to the situation with a beautiful adequateness, in every detail just right'; and for the attainment of such delicacy and perfection of adjustment constant repetition and laborious effort—issuing finally in a capacity analogous to 'secondary automatism'—are required.

If the Continuation teacher admits this position, he will have to recognize that the problem originally suggested remains. Let us assume, then, that he decides on the first alternative—to concentrate on 'work', and to this end relies on his own personality for securing order. He has now to face the alarming fact that his will has little to back it up—that the Continuation School has at present neither time nor tradition, neither a reputation for efficiency,

nor the articulate support of public opinion behind it. Rather, such public opinion as has provided the legal sanction for the schools is as yet vague, fickle, and relatively undeveloped. He can count, in fact, on the co-operation neither of parents nor of pupils, and may in addition have to face the undefined but none the less real opposition of employers, foremen, and adult workers. It is possible, in short, that, if his power of suggestion fails, and he chooses to pit his will against that of the students, or of any section of them, his position may prove untenable.

Experience may, of course, show the situation to be intolerable and a further sanction to be necessary. Many of the existing voluntary schools have relied in practice on sanctions which the Fisher Act will not provide. Sympathetic employers have made satisfactory attendance at school a condition of employment, and so have eliminated active opposition on the part of parents or of pupils. They have been prepared to suspend or dismiss employees, or to reduce wages as a result of adverse reports from school. But it is difficult to see how, under a compulsory system of continued education, school-staffs can rely on any of these aids. The problem of the refractory student is not to be solved by dismissal or suspension so long as the Act enforces his attendance. It appears, therefore, that an effort at least must be made to run the schools without these adventitious helps. Wherefore the Continuation teacher is driven back upon the second of our original alternatives. He must prepare to enlist the active co-operation of his students. He must secure, by some more reliable means than by suggestion, the direction of their energy and interest into new and worthier channels.

And once he has seen that even matters of learning are also partly matters of conduct, involving effort and choice among conflicting interests, then reflection on the practical situation may lead him to see that 'getting work done' is by no means the most pressing among the problems with which he is faced. It may be tragic that the young wage-earner should appear to possess no power of distinguishing beauty from ugliness, truth from falsehood.

It is at least equally tragic that he should be characterized by a crude egotism or by anti-social habits; that he should be deficient in grace and gentleness, in consideration for others, in a sense of civil or national responsibility. And so the teacher's problem becomes again the single and indivisible one of 'making fine people'—of training through practice and example, rather than by precept, a social being: one who is an adept in that highest art—the art of living.

How is this aim to be achieved? Wherever up to the present an attempt has been made to give a social training which shall be practical as well as theoretical in its nature, one of two lines has been followed. Either the student has been introduced straightway to some concrete part or element of the situation with which he is to grapple later—as, for example, to Labour Exchanges, After-Care Committees, Children's Courts, or Youths' Clubs; or else the training centre itself has provided a social life so organized as to reflect, in miniature, the principal features of the world outside.

The former is, generally speaking, the way of the Settlement; the latter that of the Universities. It is difficult, where adults or older students are concerned, to say which is the more desirable method. But it is significant that for most students membership of a University precedes residence at a Settlement. And for adolescents of a wage-earning type there is little doubt that emphasis should be placed, for the time being, rather upon the miniature society than upon participation in the affairs of the great world, though some degree of compromise is in practice permissible. For the young wage-earner is already an adjunct, rather than a member, of a world of industry which is to him large, terrifying, and unintelligible. The world to whose fringes he clings thus uncomprehendingly is, in fact, Hegel's '*Bürgerliche Gesellschaft*'—the economic world below the moral level. Such a world is, of course, an abstraction, but the wage-earner sees it as a reality. It touches him at isolated points only: large tracts of his nature are unaffected by it. His family life may supply other needs, but huge areas of his being remain uncatered for. And

he is not, without further help and guidance, likely to find satisfaction amid the complex and baffling variety of forces present in the adult world. It is therefore essential for his social salvation that his school society be organized as a world rich in moral problems and opportunities for endeavour—a world which may form a manageable stepping-stone to, and an intermediate link with, the world which he is to enter later, and where he may learn to solve problems continuous with, but less intricate and simpler in form than, those which he is preparing to encounter.

He must be provided, in short, with a form of group-life, one degree less baffling and difficult than that which he will ultimately be called upon to live.

What part, then, is the teacher to play in the practical training here advocated? He must guide his pupils on their moral pilgrimage—releasing them as quickly as may be, if necessary by means of the ‘transference’ advocated in Chapter III, from their initial domination by the crowd, and leading them as far as possible towards the goal of self-determination. He must be prepared for slow progress, for endless regression, for ultimate failure. At no stage of the journey will he abdicate as leader, but he must use his energy and influence on the one hand in developing the capacity of individuals for independent judgement; on the other hand in stimulating the organization of group-life, rather than in securing submission to himself personally. His task is, in fact, again the dual one outlined in the previous chapter.

First, as regards the development of his pupils’ ‘rational selves’. The teacher should, as a preliminary, let his students into the secret of the pilgrimage, mapping out their journey for them and marking the stages of their progress. He may raise questions such as ‘Why are you so nice individually and so objectionable collectively? Why do you do in school things which you would not do at home? Why do you behave better when the head master or the over-looker is present than at other times?’ He may point out the curious fact that as the numbers in a body of students increase, so often the level of behaviour deteriorates. He may discuss with

his pupils the difference between their codes at work and at leisure, on Sundays and in the week, indoors and in the streets. I found myself able, for example, to cure a tendency in one school to hooliganism on the sports field, and fighting for refreshments at club socials, largely by means of a patient and piecemeal discussion of questions such as the above—a discussion intended to issue in the evolution of a more stable standard consciously accepted as holding good in all times and at all places.

To such a standard a more systematic discussion of moral problems may also contribute. The first half-hour of the session, for example, may well be set aside for a moral address by some member of the staff on any question which has practical relevance, and it would be excellent if opportunity for further class discussion could be given. Such discussion will, however, according to my experience, take place in any case.

Secondly, as to the organization of a group-life out of which an articulate moral code may develop. A prefect system, though it may be called by any other name, is essential. The choice of prefects may safely be democratically made by any class which has had any opportunity of getting to know its members. In the course of a fairly long experience I recollect hardly any case in which the class's choice of a leader was not either identical with, or proved to be better than, the choice I myself would have made.

Once the prefects are elected and established in office the influence of the teacher upon the group will be exerted largely through them. They must leaven the lump, and to this end they must be given considerable prestige in the eyes of the school. I have had many private struggles with defaulting prefects, but have always been extremely careful to respect them in their public capacity. I have, for example, made it a rule to give them absolute freedom of action—to allow them to leave and enter rooms, to attend classes or to busy themselves about the school—at their own discretion, and never publicly to question their movements. I have rarely found the practice abused, and its net result

has been to develop in the prefects a standard of conduct and a sense of responsibility far exceeding that of their fellows, and equally far exceeding their own standard in their private capacity. Nothing is more instructive than the different levels upon which the same individual will live when in and out of office.

A girl, for example, who was in her private capacity a source of friction and a leader of dissensions, writes on becoming prefect as follows :

‘As you know, I have filled the vacancy as prefect, and I find it a very trying job at times. The girls seem to think that I should always be smiling, and you know I do occasionally get my rag out or get angry with them. I find them, on the whole, a careless but good-natured set. They easily take offence at the slightest cause, and are prepared to argue the point at the expense of the teachers, or any one else who may be in charge of them. Of course I do not count myself out of these minor offences, and am as bad, or as good, as the rest of them. B—E— is now sub-prefect. The girls wanted A—S— or L—W—, but as the two happen to be bosom chums, we decided to postpone the honour till next term, when they will become prefect and sub-prefect. That is if the class do not change their minds, which they most probably will, and then I will drop down to a normal being again.’

The last phrase is, it is submitted, more significant than its writer realizes.

On an occasion previously mentioned, when a class was guilty of collective backsliding, the prefect’s sense of guilt was markedly stronger than that of any other member of the class. Her letter ran as follows :

‘Dear Miss Phillips,—In regard to Wednesday morning’s occurrence, being the prefect of the class I feel it is my one and only ambition to prevent any ill-feeling towards you and the other school officials. I feel it is a very great stain on my character, and I am sure you will feel it also, when you are left in the care of so many girls to look after, but I am confident that if you will look on the matter on a brighter side I will use every part of my power to see that Class — will not be responsible for any other sad offence to the teachers and other workers of the school. Hoping you will receive me back as your obedient scholar . . .’

I have found it in practice convenient to work out to its logical conclusion the distinction between order and discipline previously elaborated, and to have a 'prefects' committee' elected to be responsible for order—for the smooth running of the organization, for the punctuality of the class, the care of equipment, the neatness of rooms, and the general policing of the school, and a still more carefully selected school committee to consider problems of discipline proper. Both committees, it is suggested, should hold frequent meetings in consultation with the staff, and should keep a record of proceedings and of decisions.

The school committee may be of immense value in creating an organized public opinion, and in providing opportunity for the formation of moral judgements, but so long as the wage-earner's ethical sense is relatively undeveloped the committee should work mainly in an advisory capacity. Even-handed justice will for a long time be a difficult matter, for it will share the tendency of the world outside to ignore the rights of minorities. Its judgements will err either in severity or in leniency, and the individual sinner must not, if it can be helped, be sacrificed to its caprice.

I remember, for example, an elected committee which considered two cases of petty pilfering, separated by a short interval of time. The second case was, in my opinion, much the more serious of the two. But in the first case the committee's verdict was, 'We don't think that she ought to come back to school at all, and if she does she must not come back to this class. She must restore the money and pay all her debts, and she must apologize to the class and to Annie' (the owner of the stolen property). In the second case the owner was suspended from the social club (and incidentally excused all subscriptions thereto) for two months, but on her falling ill immediately after the committee meeting, the club committee accorded her the full sick benefit due to regular and God-fearing members.

It is sometimes useful for the class as a whole to pass its opinion on a difficult case, especially as it is often in possession of a surprising amount of information which may alter the entire

position. It is, indeed, difficult for the teacher, without some supplementary source of information, to get to know all the relevant facts. In the first case of pilfering mentioned above, for example, the extent to which the criminal had borrowed money from her fellows was apparently known to the class but not to the teacher.

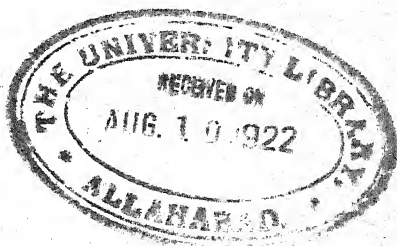
The object of a prefect system in a partially developed society is, then, rather the provision of opportunities for the formation of moral judgements and for the development of a moral code, than the execution of justice. Whatever code is evolved should be related to, but not identical with, the code of the world outside. It should differ from the latter in certain important particulars. It should lay less emphasis on property; more on consideration for others. It should pay less attention to the power and prestige of individuals, and more to the golden rule. It, and its practical working out in the school society, must in fact form a basis—the only practicable basis—upon which any criticism or modification of the current moral code can be founded.

What, then, if the school committee does not possess executive power, is to happen to the student who sins against, or who refuses to accept, the code current in his society? The first step should be taken by the teacher, who should appeal personally to the individual's better self against his lower, rather than to the individual's fellows against himself. Such an appeal should invariably be made in private. The same pupil who will respond generously to an appeal so made will do anything rather than offer similar response in public; and much harm can be done, and many enemies made, by a failure to recognize this important principle.

Generally speaking, such interviews will prove successful. But if the student resists the personal appeal, or refuses to admit condemnation at the bar of his own conscience, then the only instrument of force available in Continuation Schools—the force of public opinion—must be put into operation, and, owing to the extreme suggestibility of the young wage-earner, there are few

cases in which this will prove ineffective. This force, once organized and made articulate, is in fact so powerful that its operation requires rather to be controlled than reinforced. Twice within my experience hardened sinners voluntarily left both school and factory rather than face the opinion of the class which they had outraged, or supply the apology which the school committee demanded. Again, a girl condemned by staff and school committee jointly to a term's suspension from the social club, asked permission, while forfeiting her privileges, to continue her subscriptions, that her class-mates might not know what had happened.

The most urgent condition, therefore, for success on the lines here laid down, is that the teacher should make sure of carrying the public opinion of her students with her, and of possessing this powerful weapon ready to hand in case of emergency. Probably if, in future, experiments along these lines can be carried farther than the writer herself has had opportunity to carry them; if the teacher's work can begin (instead of terminating) at the point where an organized public opinion is established; then the disciplinary problem will resolve itself into that of strengthening the moral code of the individual against the code accepted by the school society. 'But the end of that is not yet!'



VI

THE CURRICULUM

It is no part of the business of this book to develop afresh the principles upon which the ideal school curriculum should be based, or even to attempt a new practical application of such principles. This work has been done by Mr. Kenneth Richmond in his book on *The Curriculum*, and by others. In the present chapter it is proposed merely to point out the special difficulties which make the application of such principles to the curriculum of the Continuation School appear almost impossible.

The curriculum of any school, it has been well said, should be the resultant of two forces—the aims of the school and the material with which it has to deal. What are the aims of the Continuation School—as formulated by educationists of recognized standing, or as developed in Chapter III of this book? The school must train students in the complete art of living; it must ensure the harmonious development of the individual physically, morally, intellectually, and aesthetically. It must satisfy not merely the needs of the individual, but also the needs of society—interpreting these with reference to the future as well as to the past, and preparing the individual to recognize and fulfil them. It must bring students into contact with their material environment through science, and with their social and spiritual environment through ethics, politics, and civics. And it must prepare students for service of a definite specific kind—for a livelihood as well as for life. All this it must do in the space of eight hours a week.

It is no matter for surprise therefore that the conscientious Continuation teacher should see himself in the classical position of the donkey surrounded by an indefinite number of bundles of

hay, and starving as a result of his inability to decide in which direction to move first! Urgent problems await him on every hand. To deal with the situation as a whole is impossible: to deal with it piecemeal is to court disaster from every quarter except that to which his attention is at the moment directed. Hence in practice he tends to shift his view-point daily: to concentrate upon whatever needs the situation at the moment has made most glaringly apparent.

If I may venture to compress and to edit my own experience, a Continuation teacher's diary for any given fortnight may well run as follows:

Monday. Cicely Thomas, aged sixteen, asked me to-day, 'Please, Miss, must I come to school when I am on strike?' Found she had not the least idea what was the object of the strike, though she had balloted in favour of it on the instruction of older workers. Can anything be done to educate young students politically?

Tuesday. Daisy Smith told me she was up till 12.30 last night ironing and putting up curtains, and got up again this morning at 5 a.m. to get her stepfather off to work at 6 a.m. She is the eldest of a family of five—mother dead. Is it any wonder that she is uninterested in school affairs?

Wednesday. Went to see Louisa Alcott—sick. Found her mother sewing—her first attempt at a blouse. She had sewn the wristband on to the sleeve, sewn the sleeve into the armhole, and was then attempting to stitch up the sleeve seam—one edge being several inches longer than the other. She told me she had never had a chance to learn as she 'married straight from work'. Saw dinner prepared. The mother had been sent a boiling of French beans, which she had never seen before. She had taken the red beans out of the pods, boiled them, and thrown the pods away. Query—Would it not be better to concentrate for the present on giving domestic instruction?

Thursday. Lottie Dilworth, complained of for laziness, is obviously suffering from anaemia. Needs a healthy out-door life. N.B.—Get the girls out of doors as much as possible.

Friday. Edith Wilson does not know where the Central Station is! She has never in her life been out of the town. Is it under the circumstances any use teaching her geography? N.B.—Get some expeditions up in the summer, if possible.

Saturday. Net-ball match, ending in a free fight between the two teams. Every point was disputed—the two captains, both prefects—have sworn eternal enmity. What can one do to cultivate a spirit of fair play?

Monday. Beatrice Farmer, one of our most promising sixteen-year-olds, tells me to-day (in tears) that she cannot afford to come to school voluntarily any longer, as she is the only wage-earner in the family at the moment and dare not miss her half-day's wage.

Annie Dawson (suffering from tuberculous glands) has been told by the doctor to take three months off from work for rest and outdoor exercise. Her mother tells me they cannot possibly afford this. 'Just as I was beginning to feel her wage this happens.'

Tuesday. First school social evening—horrible scene—the refreshment table was mobbed. Saw one girl with her pocket stuffed with cakes. Another, with three mugs of lemonade in her hand, literally slung the contents across the room. Surely, gentleness, courtesy, consideration for others are the first things we must try to teach.

Wednesday. Am struck by the fact that these girls invariably use the formula 'Must I do so and so?' where a normal being would say 'Shall I?' This servility is depressing and degrading in adolescents. Can anything be done to cultivate initiative?

Thursday. Daisy Nobbs, asked to-day about her absence from school last week, told a number of quite unnecessary lies. Wish one could inject a modicum of honesty and moral courage.

Friday. Doris Beauchamp says she must leave the Club. Her mother is dead, her father a confirmed drunkard. Now her elder sister is taking to drink. Doris 'promised her mother that she would do what she could with the younger ones'. Feels she must stay at home in the evening to protect them from violence and temptation. Is the school doing anything to prepare girls for such tremendous responsibility?

Saturday. Went to a meeting in the Town Hall held to consider unemployment. The audience was completely convinced by each speaker in turn, though no two speakers made the same diagnosis or suggested the same remedy, and several flatly contradicted themselves and each other. In discussion followed a series of rambling, confused, and often pointless speeches. Can we do anything towards helping our students to think rationally and to express themselves clearly?

But to act from moment to moment upon impulses such as those here suggested would be to court disaster. The curriculum must not approximate to a reed shaken by the wind. Some steadying and unifying factor must be found—some principle whose *rationale* is apparent to the student as well as to the teacher if chaos and confusion are to be avoided. Fortunately, there are other considerations beside those of theoretic desirability and momentary expediency on which a solution can be based. These are provided by the pupil—the second factor in the problem. His energy and interest will flow naturally in certain channels: less naturally in others: hardly at all in the remainder, and this consideration is of prime practical importance.

An attempt was made in the second chapter to discriminate among these channels. It was suggested that in the case of the young wage-earner, psychic energy followed the lines of three main interests—in himself, in sex, and in humanity in general, and that such interests were stronger when immediately, weaker when remotely, connected with the concrete, everyday life. Beyond this it was shown that his interest was in the main directed towards that part of his material environment which had immediate meaning and economic value—to his trade and wages: and hence the charge of utilitarianism so often brought against him.

These considerations offer two guiding lines upon which the curriculum should be framed. A subject will be acceptable if it can be made to centre round personalities or personal interests, or if it can be shown to have a utility value—a bearing on earning-power and industrial efficiency. Interest and utility: these are the two alternative tests which the wage-earner applies to the subjects offered him, and to do him justice he usually applies the first test at the outset, and only if it fails, falls back on the second. If a pupil can be got to remark 'I like this lesson' he is far less likely than otherwise to ask subsequently 'What is the good of it?'

If the two tests can be seen to coincide—if any subject can be recognized as intensely fascinating in itself and also as possessing

practical bearings—if, in short, the concepts of utility and interest can give place to the concept of relevance, then such a subject will evoke not merely liking, but enthusiasm. This has happened in the case of the writer of the following passage: c

‘Our History lessons are not nearly long enough. We are taking the history of Germany, working backwards from 1914, including the Franco-Prussian War, the Thirty Years’ War, and the Congress of Vienna—it *is* interesting. Isn’t there a lot to learn—about the more recent causes of the War—things you would never dream of: and Germany is such an interesting country, I think, through the fact that she is so young, and has such high ambitions. . . . It is easy to see that unless things are properly settled at the end of the War, and each country is treated fairly, there will be a chronic state of war in Europe, which possibly will break out at any time. . . . Dad is such a one you know for talking politics: he’ll go on for hours, but he never goes deeply into things with me, he only tells me of the Government, and the Cabinet and *little* things—not the vital questions I want to know. . . . I mean to study everything that goes on as carefully as I can, for after the War there are sure to be so many changes take place that it will be quite exciting to see what happens.’

But, further, the young wage-earner has certain minor idiosyncrasies which demand consideration. The supplementary studies which he has in the past taken up, in the evening schools and elsewhere, throw some light upon these. Such studies fall, in the case of girls, into three groups. Millinery, dressmaking, cooking, laundry, and housecraft have the utility value discussed above. The demand for typewriting, shorthand, and French (when not similarly explained) is connected with social ambition—with a desire for office work and nice clothes. Thirdly, there is the passion for ‘accomplishments’ of any kind—for music, painting, and dancing—catered for by an army of ‘professors’. The private lesson is the acme of desirability. A girl said to me: ‘You remember young Elsie? She’s learning painting off the same man that my brother learns off. She goes into town twice a week. My mother said to her, “What’s the good of your going

to him? You can't paint"; and Elsie said, "If I could I shouldn't need to go learning." Another girl writes excitedly: 'I have just been painting two pictures of Dutch scenery at night-time. One of them was a copy of a postcard, and I felt quite proud of them both. Next time you visit us I shall show them to you.'

Closely connected with the utilitarianism already mentioned is the passion for immediate tangible results, which makes it imperative that the teacher should set immediate rather than remote objectives. Needlework classes must not spend a valuable term over pattern drafting—whatever its educational value—but get to work immediately on the making of things. Drawing lessons must not concern themselves with 'teaching students to draw', but directly with designs for embroidery, for programme covers, for Christmas cards. Poetry must be learnt, not to train the memory or to foster appreciation, but in order that it may be recited. Gymnastic classes must take as their objective not physical culture, but the mastery of games and dances.

Another prejudice present in many cases is dislike to subjects which were unpopular in the primary school. In this case the old name—the old label—should be avoided. A class which once announced to a new mistress: 'We hate History; we don't want any of that—we have had enough of it already,' expressed after half a dozen lessons its appreciation of the work in hand, but entirely refused to believe that such work was History at all. 'I don't want to do Composition', protests another girl, 'it's too much like day-school.' Hence the practical wisdom of adorning the time-table with impressive looking titles, such as Civics, Economics, Current Events. To the Continuation student, a rose by a new name smells a good deal sweeter than before.

Two further prejudices are, unfortunately, inherited from the last generation. One is the vicious tradition which regards education as the handing out of a store of marketable facts. There is a tendency on the part of worldly-wise pupils to ask disconcertingly, 'What have we learnt in this lesson?' A girl, as to whose progress in essentials there could be no question, was

once heard to remark, 'I have learnt nothing ever since I came to this school.' Secondly, there is the particularist tradition, as a result of which the student is unable to recognize the value of co-operative effort and of collective progress: perfectly willing to rise on stepping-stones of his dead fellows to higher things for himself, but inclined to ignore, or to test unfairly, the ideals of the new type of school.¹

A last consideration is that summed up in the saying, 'It takes all sorts to make a world.' The interests of all pupils, though roughly following the same lines, are by no means identical. Hence any list of subjects drawn up must be extremely elastic, allowing for the selection therefrom, by pupils or groups of pupils, of particular subjects or groups of subjects. By means of such selection the time problem may to some extent be overcome. No pupil can in eight hours a week be given a complete education; but at least he can devote himself to those lines of study for which he shows most aptitude and from which he is likely to derive most profit. When every moment is valuable it would, for instance, be uneconomical to force subjects such as music, mathematics, drawing, or even literature, upon students who show neither taste nor capacity for them, so long as there are possible alternatives which serve, broadly speaking, the same educational purposes.

This principle, fortunately, appears to be generally recognized. The 'Fisher Act', in particular, insists upon physical culture; suggests by implication the value of social training; is prepared to accept a 'vocational bias'; but, beyond this, leaves Educational authorities free, and local authorities engaged in training-schemes show a healthy tendency to insist upon extreme elasticity of curriculum, to resist the temptation of drawing up time-tables themselves, even to suggest that time-tables be developed experimentally in the schools rather than fixed *ab initio*.

But still the time problem remains. There is one last hope. The universe has to be interpreted—but 'There is a path from

¹ See also Chap. X.

every fact to every other fact in the universe', and in the recognition of this truth lies salvation. In the multiplication of subjects is confusion, but 'the cult of subjects in education', says Kenneth Richmond, 'is out of date. There is only one subject—knowledge; and only one object—free and active development.' 'Only connect' must be the motto of the Continuation teacher. The innumerable water-tight compartments which threaten to cut our invaluable four-hour sessions into uneconomical hourly or half-hourly periods, must be broken down. In extreme cases, where students are conspicuously lacking in stability and capacity for concentration, the constant change of subjects and of teacher may prove temporarily the only way of meeting the difficulty. But where a tradition of industry and interest has been established, the waste of effort involved in the transfer of energy and interest from one topic to another entirely disconnected from it, is obvious to the students themselves. As a seventeen-year-old girl once pertinently remarked, 'We seem to go from one thing to another so much; we jump about all the time.'

The establishment of connexions is, in fact, a most important element in successful Continuation teaching. It increases enormously not merely the effectiveness of the teaching, but also its palatability. There is, even for the young wage-earner, no greater intellectual pleasure than that involved in the discovery of an unexpected connexion between two fragments of experience. The writer of the following passage, for example, who is staying in the Mendips for the first time, is enthusiastic about the discovery of one such accidental connexion between her present and her past experience.

'I expect, now that I have mentioned Shipham, that you will not need telling that it was one of the first places where Hannah More began her good work. Shipham still has the Hannah More Club where, on the occasion of a wedding, the bride is presented with 10s. and a Bible. I believe that is right, if not, please correct me. Every time Hannah More is mentioned I think of you, because I remember so well your telling us at school about

her and her sister and their work at Cheddar, and of the only Bible that was found under a treepot, and the Sunday School Treat on Callow.'

The possibility of a solution lies in the allocation of longer periods to groups of subjects rather than in the multiplication of isolated 'lessons'. Four such main groups of subjects may be distinguished, and even between these groups no hard and fast line can be drawn.

- I. Subjects concerned primarily with the culture of the body—dancing, games, drill, gymnastics, swimming, hygiene, sex instruction; certain handicrafts.
- II. Subjects which, making the students' immediate environment their starting-point, aim at leading him through useful knowledge to an understanding of 'objective externality' in the wider sense, and finally, if possible, to a love of truth for its own sake: e.g. in the case of boys, vocational teaching, pure and applied science, mathematics; in the case of girls, housecraft, domestic science, household economics, sociology.
- III. Subjects which, starting from a discussion of concrete personalities, aim at introducing the student to his wider social environment, and of leading him through social service, to the development of a 'rational self'. History, Current Events, Politics, Economics, Civics, Ethics, possibly Religion.
- IV. Subjects giving scope for aesthetic creation and appreciation, aiming at enjoyment and the development of a standard of beauty—artistic hand-work of all kinds, dancing, dramatic work, singing, speaking and reading aloud; drawing and painting; the appreciation of music, art, and literature.

The four groups of subjects cater, very broadly speaking, for the development of the physical, mental, moral, and aesthetic aspects of life respectively. Language, the medium of all instruction, and Geography, which has always been recognized as a

patchwork of various sciences, cannot be assigned to any particular group.

As regards the distribution of time among the various groups—common sense suggests that, given an eight-hour week, two hours roughly should be allotted to each. The writer would suggest as a modification, that Group III should gain somewhat at the expense of Group I. If the eight hours' attendance does not take place all on one day, it will be advisable to divide the time given to physical culture, and this necessitates the division of a second group. A possible arrangement is as follows :

<i>Morning Session.</i>	Group I.	$\frac{3}{4}$ hr.
	Group II.	2 hrs.
	Group III.	$1\frac{1}{4}$ hrs.
<i>Afternoon Session.</i>	Group I.	$\frac{3}{4}$ hr.
	Group IV.	2 hrs.
	Group III.	$1\frac{1}{4}$ hrs.

The following example will illustrate the interweaving of subjects within a group—or rather the way in which a live interest, once developed, and unimpeded by artificial barriers, will find naturally the 'path from every fact to every other fact in the universe'.

The point of departure is modern Egypt—reached by way of Current Events and the problems of the Peace Settlement. In about eight weekly periods of two hours each, the following path is travelled :

1. The Cotton Trade in modern Egypt.
2. The Nile and the Sahara.
3. England and France in Egypt during the nineteenth century.
4. The Suez Canal and its effect on Trade Routes.
5. Gordon and Kitchener in Egypt.
6. Egypt under the Romans. Readings from Shakespeare's *Anthony and Cleopatra*, and from Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*.
7. Egypt under the Pharaohs. Readings from *Exodus*.

8. The 'Book of the Dead'—Egyptian Gods and Goddesses.

9. Dramatic reading of Lord Dunsany's *The Queen's Enemies*.

From this point the class may proceed by way of the exploration of the Upper Nile to Darkest Africa, Livingstone, and fresh fields of interest. In the above course of lessons the subjects popularly known as English, History, Geography, Scripture, General Information, and Drawing were all included. It has already been noted that where students possess exceptionally little vitality or power of concentration, or are easily fatigued, they may not take kindly to lesson periods of two and a half hours. My experience, however, leads me to believe that, provided the range of interest within the period is sufficiently wide, and the method of attack sufficiently varied; and, above all, if opportunity for much co-operative work and free discussion is given, then this objection is no bar to the suggestions here made. For example, I have kept classes quite happily employed for a space of two and a half hours upon a study of English costume in the fourteenth century, conducted as follows:

1. Preliminary talk by the teacher on the sources of information as regards costume: tombstones, brasses, stained-glass windows, illuminated psalters, &c. ($\frac{1}{4}$ hour).
2. The class dissolves into groups. Reproductions of drawings from the Luttrell Psalter are distributed, and with these as a basis the groups set to work to answer a *questionnaire* previously prepared as follows ($\frac{1}{2}$ hour):

List of Questions

What do the given pictures tell you about—

(a) Social Classes of the fourteenth century?

(b) Dress of the period?

High or low neck?

High or low waists?

Length of dress?

Length and shape of sleeves?

Trimmings?

Shoes—shape and material?

Head-dress and head-coverings?

- (c) Differences between man's and woman's dress?
- (d) Differences between dress then and now?
- 3. Class reassembles and discusses results. Short lecture by the teacher (with blackboard sketches) on contemporary technical terms for different parts of costume ($\frac{1}{2}$ hour).
- 4. Class, working again in groups, or in pairs, writes up in its notebooks the information obtained to date ($\frac{1}{2}$ hour).
- 5. Class illustrates these notes with a series of sketches chosen (and coloured) to taste ($\frac{3}{4}$ hour).

In conclusion, no one is more aware than I am of the indefinite number of objections which can be urged against the suggestions made in this chapter—or, indeed, against any practical attempt to provide a liberal education on the basis of an eight-hour week. The thing is impossible, and it is therefore irrelevant to condemn any scheme put forward on the ground of its omissions. Criticism can only be made upon the basis of a scheme which claims to be

(a) Equally or more practicable in a period of eight hours weekly.

(b) Equally or more acceptable to students.

(c) Equally or more profitable. In Kenneth Richmond's words, 'It is no use to put forward the ideal of a unified scheme before it can be realized, and we have enough to do, for the present, to find the right teachers and to get them started, each upon a single line of profitable work'.

VII

THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG WORKER

THE object of the present chapter is to justify further the inclusion in the curriculum of the third group of subjects previously mentioned, and to make such suggestions in regard to method as have not already found place in Chapter IV.

In the preceding chapter it was recommended that rather more than a quarter of the total time available in the Continuation School should be given to social subjects. This may appear to some to be an extravagant claim, yet responsible educational administrators and inspectors have gone further in the same direction, advocating, for example, that the entire curriculum should be organized round these subjects as a centre. Such proposals have been made in the belief that social life under worthy conditions is of value for its own sake, and that only the individual who is social in the highest sense is completely and fully himself. This view, never better put than by Plato, need not be elaborated here. If it be true, then the failure of industrialism to provide opportunities for such a satisfactory social life acquires additional significance. And as this failure becomes more and more apparent, so the efforts of the Continuation School to provide for its students, not merely practice in social conduct, but also formal instruction in the theory underlying the society whereof they are members, must be redoubled. Social practice and social theory must be given simultaneously, each illuminating the other. Not merely must philosophers be kings and kings be philosophers: young students must be potentially both theorists and active citizens, and the smaller their chance of finding

either significant experience or luminous theory in the industrial world, the greater the responsibility of the Continuation School.

Let it be assumed, then, that the teacher of social subjects accepts as his objective the provision, to whatever extent is possible, of the type of training advocated by Plato for the philosopher king. To this end he will aim at enlarging both temporally and spatially his students' conception of their social environment. He will endeavour to lift them out of narrow personal interests, teaching them to look backward into the past, forward into the future, right and left to other parts of the globe, under and over all barriers artificially erected. The experiences called 'personal' will always remain for his pupils the most vivid and the most intense: and it is not suggested that he should attempt to alter this. But at least, with the increase of knowledge, the overwhelming pressure of energy and interest into narrow channels will be relieved, and its distribution over a wider field facilitated.

The extent to which redistribution of energy is possible will of course vary considerably with different individuals. Where the typical young wage-earner is concerned the teacher of social subjects will, for reasons discussed in Chapter II, have an uphill task; and probably, this will be, generally speaking, truer of girls than of boys; but the assumption that all possess, at least in some degree, the capacity for the wider life, is implicit in the political structure of all democratic countries. If such an assumption is in future proved to be unsound, then criticism must first be directed not against the curriculum which attempts to prepare for democracy, but against the political constitutions which make such preparation necessary. Meanwhile, so long as all are potentially effective citizens wielding power which may be, within the limits imposed by natural capacity, well or badly used, the above view of the Continuation teacher's duty appears to be justified.

Assuming then that the task of the teacher of social subjects is the preparation of students for the wider social life, what shall be

the content of his teaching? On the broad principles here laid down, and with the extremely short time at his disposal, selection from the immense mass of material available—ethical, historic, economic, political—appears impossible. The problem is, in fact, a special case of the general problem discussed in the previous chapter. The solution cannot be arrived at *in vacuo*, but is practically limited both by the interests of the students and by their needs; and the final solution should be the resultant of these two forces. By ‘needs’ is here understood a compromise between those permanent responses demanded by society of all its members, and those lesser responses which particular individuals have to make from day to day. Thus the duties of all citizens are in principle the same, but each generation has to face its own special problems—a world-war; industrial conflict; religious toleration; racial discords; the rights of an empire over subject peoples. Similarly, specifically different responses may be demanded of the two sexes or of different social classes. Hence the social training given at any moment and to any set of students should possess, if possible, relevancy of two types. It should bear generally upon the whole question of social living, linking up with the body of information already imparted, and it should possess in addition some particular application to a recognized need of the moment. Only under specially favourable circumstances, however, is it possible to give teaching which is equally relevant in both senses, and it is here submitted that when, in moments of crisis, choice has to be made between logical coherence and practical applicability, then the former rather than the latter should be sacrificed.

The necessity for such sacrifice involves, of course, a confession of failure, but while human affairs themselves exhibit such apparent lack of logic—whatever the deeper logic of events may be—failure of this type is from time to time inevitable. In the crisis of 1914, for example, the spectacle of the various European nations, taken in unawareness of the trend of events and in ignorance of each other's history, traditions, and intentions; feverishly scrambling for

information specially prepared by none-too-impartial authorities; reading *ad hoc* presentations of their own case and no presentation at all of any other; and thus trying to make up for time intellectually lost—was sufficient to demonstrate the failure of all countries to give adequate social training. But of two alternatives, at least the better was chosen. It was bad enough for the schools temporarily to scrap their syllabuses in order to give the necessary minimum of European history and geography; it would have been worse had they held on their accustomed way and made no effort to cater—however belatedly—for the needs of the times. If our schools are not thus to be taken unawares in the future, then the syllabuses must be framed neither rigidly nor upon hand-to-mouth principles, but must be based upon an intelligent forecast of urgent human interests, with the connexions between these worked out as fully as possible.

The framing of the social study syllabus involves then a diagnosis of the immediate, as well as of the permanent, needs of society. For this reason every teacher must draw up his own syllabus, and no two of these will be alike. For the needs of society at any moment are so complex that it is impossible for any mind to see the problem whole. Hence the inevitable tendency for different individuals to see different elements in the situation as fundamental. The root trouble at the moment is economic, therefore teach economics and industrial history; it is spiritual, therefore re-introduce religious instruction; the hope of the world lies in the co-operative commonwealth, therefore teach ethics and give training in co-operative thinking and conduct; the cause of these present discontents is the world war, therefore preach pacifism and the League of Nations in season and out. The future of the world lies with women, with labour, with the Slavs, with Japan, with the United States, therefore focus attention on these. The next earth-shaking upheaval will arise in Darkest Africa, in India, in China, therefore seek information with regard to these. The burden of the future will still be the White Man's Burden and the hope of the white race still lies in the

British Empire ; therefore continue to think imperially. Possible diagnoses of the social malady are legion, and each diagnosis involves, logically, a different remedy.

To give the teacher *carte blanche* in this matter is to risk endless diversity, and even confusion, in the teaching over any given geographical area. Nevertheless the risk must, in the writer's opinion, be run. Where so vital a group of subjects is concerned it is all-important that the teacher shall believe what he teaches. It is even possible to argue that a multiplicity of views and the introduction of an element of controversy is the best antidote to dogmatism in matters upon which the last word has manifestly not yet been said. But the best safeguard against narrowness and rigidity of outlook on the part of the teacher lies in the selection, by local authorities, of mobile-minded men. The teacher of social subjects, since he cannot both see life steadily and see it whole, must aim primarily at the latter. He must be willing at any moment to regard either the physical, economic, political, or spiritual needs of mankind as for the time being fundamental. He must be prepared to see human interests shifting to any part of the globe, focusing themselves at any point, without such adjustment necessitating an upheaval of his intellectual habits or a revolutionary change in his point of view. And he must, as far as possible, develop the same habits and attitude of mind in his pupils.

So much for the type of teacher required, and for the principles upon which topics for study shall be selected. What now of the degree of thoroughness with which such subjects as are undertaken shall be studied? One consideration, not always insisted upon, appears to me to be vital. Where other parts of the globe are concerned, then not merely the facts relating to, but the points of view of, those countries should as far as possible be considered. Teacher and student must, for example, see Russia through the eyes of Tolstoi and of Gorki ; they must know India as she appears, not only to Kipling, but to Tagore. Hence they must study not only foreign countries, but also foreign literature. The

study of languages is probably barred from the Continuation School curriculum by the exigences of time, but translations from Indian, Chinese, Swedish, Russian, and Spanish literature should find a place in the social study library.

How far shall an historical foundation be given in connexion with the subjects studied? Interesting developments have recently taken place in relation to the general question of historical teaching. There has been, on the one hand, a reaction against the barren type of historical teaching formerly current in many schools which led nowhere, which bore relatively little fruit in the shape of an increased understanding of modern problems, which concealed instead of elucidating the connexion between present and past. Out of this reaction has developed naturally enough the demand for an alternative study of Current Events and Civics—a study which places the required emphasis on the present, but whose danger is that it may limit itself to a simple description of the existing political and social machinery; presenting this not as a stage in a process of development, but as something given ready made, timeless presumably in its origin, and likely, therefore, to last for ever. The products of such teaching in its extreme form may become, it is feared, as purely the slaves of the existing order as the historian of the old school was the slave of the past. Unfortunately there is at the moment some danger that this type of teaching may take root in the Continuation Schools.

A second and more hopeful departure, drawing its inspiration from many sources, but arising in part as a counter reaction to the above, is typified by the publication of Mr. Wells's *Outline of History*. On the one hand, it attempts to transcend all partial boundaries and to view the world as a whole; on the other hand, while beginning the study of mankind with the earth when without form and void, it would bring history up to the living present, and would even carry it forward into the future.

The extent to which it is possible to realise this new ideal in the Continuation School is mainly a question of time. Admitted that if the history of the world be taught as a whole instead of from the

point of view of each country separately, a considerable simplification of material and economy of effort is possible, yet limitations of time alone make the difficulty almost insuperable.

I would therefore suggest for the Continuation School a third course—that however cursory his treatment of any subject may be, the teacher should endeavour to hold the balance fairly between past, present, and future. His students must be neither antiquarians with their souls in the past, nor materialists enslaved by the present, nor unpractical idealists with their heads in the clouds—or in the future. They must be, as Drinkwater has put it in his *Fires of God*:

‘Wise of the storied ages : . . .
Wise of the brief beloved span
Of this our glad earth travelling ; . . .
Wise of the great unshapen age
To which we move with measured tread.’

Equal emphasis must be laid in teaching on history, on current events, and on ‘Utopia-mongering’. No study of what is must be regarded as complete without some account of what has been and an indication of what may be.

For example, any discussion of present-day economic problems must include at least, on the one hand, a sketch of the Industrial Revolution and of the domestic system of industry which preceded it, and on the other hand a consideration of possible alternative schemes, which, though they be as hopelessly impracticable as those contained in Morris’s *News from Nowhere* or Bellamy’s *Looking Backward*, will serve at least to counteract the common illusion that the present competitive system always has been and always will be. Similarly a study of the Irish problem must go back historically at least to Cromwell, should include some of the best of Irish folk-literature, and should terminate in a vision of the future—if it be only the vision of the ‘Mad Priest’ in *John Bull’s Other Island*. Or a sketch of Germany’s part in the late war must refer back, not only to Bismarck, but also to the ‘golden age’ which preceded him, and emphasis should be laid on the

fact that Prussianism may be a stage only in evolution and that Germany may in the future revert to her own earlier idealism.

So much for the content of the social study syllabus. Now to make some more detailed suggestions with regard to method. It has already been indicated that individual students may vary greatly as regards both their capacity for, and their interest in, such studies. But for all students, however great such individual variations, the same route must be followed. Social studies must develop out of the narrow concrete personal world already known to the students. The study of local government may begin in the November elections, or in some local controversy—a new garden suburb, the extension of a tramway scheme, the taking over of the city's water supply, the incorporation of a suburban area within the borough. Interest in economics may spring out of a local strike, local or general trade depression, a wage advance, an increase of unemployment benefit. A study of minimum wages and the working of the Trades Board Act may profitably be undertaken with students whose own trades come under the scope of the Act; with others it will fall flat. An introduction to Central Government is provided by such enactments as affect the student personally—a new Factory Regulation, the Education Act of 1918, new Pension or Insurance Regulations. If any aspect of social life cannot in this way be made real, it had better be left until opportunity offers. The social environment touches the students personally on so many sides that profitable starting-points are rarely lacking.

As the students' studies become gradually less personal in their reference, the same effort to keep the subject concrete—to clothe it in flesh and blood—must be maintained. Interest in law, it has been said, will begin for boys in a murder, for girls in a divorce. Though this need only be accepted with qualifications, the principle is undoubtedly true. The young wage-earner is notoriously unresponsive to abstractions—whether, as has been suggested, because he has been prematurely fed with generalizations in the primary school, or because he lacks the concrete

experience upon which alone generalizations can be based, is an open question. Whatever the reason, in nine cases out of ten his objection to a 'dry book', a 'dry subject', a 'dry lesson' is at bottom an objection to generalizations which possess, for him, no concrete stuffing.

The teacher must therefore make the provision of concrete experience his immediate business, and generalizations his goal rather than his point of departure. No study of local government, for example, should be carried far without a visit to a local Council Meeting, or failing the opportunity for this, the conduct of such a meeting by the class. By such means the student will, in Lewis Carroll's words, 'Learn in ten minutes far more than all books could have taught him in seventy years'. Where historical events are concerned local relics may be pressed into service. Church windows, mural paintings, tombs and memorial tablets, statues, historic buildings and ruins—all should be made familiar to the scholars, and relevant generalizations woven round them. A similar use must be made, in connexion with geographical studies, of travellers' relics, museum collections, curios, and pictures.

Those parts of the social environment distant in time or space, which cannot thus be shown in the concrete, must be linked on to that interest in personalities which is, as was originally suggested, the strongest and most abiding of the young wage-earners' interests. If any friend or relation of his cares for a cause, is concerned in an event of general importance, is a member of a public body, has emigrated to another country—then the student's interest in such country, public body, event, or cause is, *ipso facto*, secured. But personalities known only through hearsay may serve the same purpose. I have found it possible to make classes, almost sub-normal in intellect and entirely uninterested in bygone times, absorb a good deal of the social life of the eighteenth century, for example, through the attractive personality of Fanny Burney, and the series of lessons has closed in united clamour for 'another diary of a girl'.

Again, the story of the Industrial Revolution has proved fascinating if read in connexion with the lives of the great inventors—if, that is to say, its effect upon a typical concrete individual or family is made clear. Further, such personal studies provide a valuable 'carry-over' of interest, if undertaken in sufficient detail. There can be no greater mistake than to offer Continuation students outlines and bald statements. What they crave is limitless detail—the juice and spice of life. Hence the immense value of diaries and personal correspondence. The appeal made by these will release a store of psychic energy whose momentum will carry the student from the personal centre towards the impersonal circumference of his subject. There can be, for example, no more lively and fascinating introduction to the problem of women in industry than Mrs. Sidney Webb's account of her own experiences in the tailoring trade (see 'The Diary of an Investigator' in *Problems of Modern Industry*). Similarly, though philanthropists and statesmen, such as Elizabeth Fry, Robert Owen, Lord Shaftesbury, and Florence Nightingale, are necessarily more popular when visiting prisons, brightening hospital wards, or teaching in Ragged Schools, than when framing Acts of Parliament, requisitioning supplies, or drawing up sanitary reports; yet efforts expended in presenting their careers as vividly and picturesquely as possible are not, from the point of view of the teacher of social subjects, wasted. The afterglow of a romantic moment may serve to illuminate hours of sociological gloom.

Equally striking has been the success of the attempt made in certain Continuation Schools to arouse geographical interest through a study of the lives of explorers. The story, for example, of Scott's last Polar Expedition possesses a personal, dramatic, and sentimental interest whose 'carry-over', if economically employed, will serve to popularize for several weeks the 'drier' studies which may arise out of it.

This same interest in personalities suggests an alternative mode of approach to social subjects through the study of relevant

fiction. Literature and history in fact, from the point of view of the present chapter, provide equally valuable and equally legitimate material. The success of the attempt made by Kingsley, Dickens, and Mrs. Browning to rouse the public opinion of their own day to an interest in social reform can be repeated in the Continuation Schools, provided that the same means—poetry and fiction—be used. I have found plays, such as Galsworthy's *Strife* and Drinkwater's *Abraham Lincoln*, stories such as Lytton's *Harold* and Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill*, invaluable as an introduction to unfamiliar periods, modes of life, and points of view. A voluntary fourth-year class, for example, was once induced to undertake a study and discussion of remote times and problems by a blend of truth and fiction, indefensible from the point of view of the historian, but justified for the teacher of social subjects by the interest aroused and energy unlocked. The syllabus is given in Appendix C.

It is not, however, intended that literature and history should be used indifferently, or that the student should be given no guidance in discriminating between truth and fiction. Such guidance is among the most urgent of his needs. The 'here and now', it has been said, must be the starting-point of study, and for information regarding the present the necessary prime source is the press. And of all forms of that suggestibility which continued education must help to combat, the power wielded by the press of all parties is most calculated to call forth the amazement of a better day. This contention requires no elaboration here. The Continuation teacher must therefore place foremost among his duties an attempt to prevent the uncritical acceptance by his pupils of any and every statement made by his fellows, or met with in the press.

No suggestions which the writer can make for the achievement of this end can improve upon those contained in Dr. Keatinge's *Studies in the Teaching of History*. The study of the sources of information and of the criteria of evidence there advocated cannot, however, in Continuation Schools, well be undertaken in con-

nexion with historical documents. A course of lessons such as that referred to immediately above might include a simple comparison of the historical sources used with the superstructures raised upon them; of Mr. Kipling's *Conversion of St. Wilfred*, for example, with the paragraph in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle upon which it is based. But, generally speaking, limitations of time are a serious drawback to work of this kind.

The same type of study may, however, be undertaken with more profit, in connexion with contemporary events. The recent war provides instances—even more significant than those to be culled from history—of the distortion of truth in private and public interests, of falsities which were believed simply because they were palatable, of the mushroom growth of rumours and exaggerations upon an infinitesimal basis of fact. Stories, such as those of the angels at Mons, of the smuggling of Russian troops through England, of the illicit use of dead bodies by the German high command, are familiar to all and still fresh in mind. Further, an endless number of exercises such as those which Dr. Keatinge has devised, may be based upon the contemporary press. Any event may, for example, be studied in the columns of two papers of opposite politics, and an attempt made to extract the truth from the two conflicting accounts. Students may be given practice in discounting the tendency of papers possessing a marked bias to 'touch-up' certain events and to tone down others; and to under- or over-estimate the significance of current movements. Out of exercises such as these, Dr. Keatinge's 'Criteria of accuracy and sincerity' will naturally emerge.

In one other principal respect does the Continuation student need preparation if he is to make intelligent use of the daily press. He must be able to read, not in the sense in which reading has until quite recent times been understood in the primary schools, but rapidly, silently, with the eye and not necessarily with the mouth, gathering the sense as he goes, and knowing what he has read when he has finished. Only those who have had

experience of the young wage-earner can realize his inability to do this, and his need of systematic training in this connexion.

If practice in effective reading is to be given, the simple provision of 'silent reading' periods is not enough, though these are of value. Simple exercises must be devised which will direct the students' attention again and again on to the text in question, ensuring that its gist has been gathered. Such exercises must be carefully graded, the student being at first required only to seize the essence of each passage and allowed to let the minor points go by, and later required to take in the whole substance with a greater degree of minuteness, accuracy, and subtlety. They may be set indifferently and with equal profit in connexion with press cuttings, literary texts, or historical documents.

Assume, for example, that Edward I's Statute of Winchester is to be studied in an abridged form, as given in Appendix D. A single reading of the text—silently or otherwise—will convey very little to the untrained student. He will quite probably be unable to answer the simple question 'What is the object of the Act?' He must therefore be forced back upon the text with ever-increasing closeness and minuteness by graded questions, such as the following:

1. Suggest a new title for the Act.
2. Summarize its clauses.
3. Make a list of the classes of people affected by it.
4. Which of these are likely to approve, or disapprove of the Act?

These questions should be framed so as to require little effort from the student beyond an attentive reading of the text, but in the case of an intelligent class questions requiring greater subtlety and a closer understanding may be asked, as, for example:

What views might each of the following be expected to hold with regard to the above Statute?

A highway robber.

A churchwarden.

A 'man' of fifteen.

A burghess fond of moonlight walks.

A housewife who hated polishing.

Or to take a more modern example. Suppose the class is to read a press report of a Parliamentary debate—for example, on a motion for Irish Home Rule. The following exercises may be set, requiring progressively more subtlety and closeness in reading :

1. Arrange in two columns the names of the speakers for and against the motion.
2. Summarize their arguments.
3. On which side, according to the report, did the balance of argument lie ?
4. Reconstruct from the speeches the progress of events in Ireland before the debate.

Or the following exercises may be set respectively in connexion with the reading of any letter—historical or fictitious, or of any account of any contemporary or historical event :

- I. (a) Write a reply to the given letter, by the person to whom it is addressed, or
 (b) (a more subtle exercise) write the letter to which the given letter is a reply.
- II. Find out from the given account (for example Froissart's account of the Peasants' Revolt) all you can about the writer, and especially his views with regard to the event in question.

In conclusion, I will not attempt to answer the arguments usually advanced against the general type of teaching here advocated. This has already been well done in two books by Messrs. Victor Gollancz and David Somervell—*Political Education in a Public School* and *The School and the World*. If it be suggested that such teaching must necessarily be prejudiced and biased, I would merely point out that no bias given or prejudice imparted by any teacher moderately well qualified for his task can be worse than the prejudices of ignorance, or the bias either of the capitalist or of the labour press ; and that to refrain from giving political teaching for such reasons is to deliver the young wage-earner bound hand and foot into the power of these.

Secondly, if it be suggested that no adequate teaching along these lines can be given in the space of two hours weekly, I would agree, but would reiterate, at the cost of being wearisome, that this fact is an argument not for desisting from such teaching, but for extending the scope of the Education Act of 1918.

When all has been said, the provision of social training remains perhaps the most uphill task which the teacher can perform, and only a conviction of its immense value can support him in face of almost insuperable difficulties. In this case above all others the success of his efforts will depend largely on the amount of his faith.

VIII

THE AESTHETIC EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG WORKER

THE object of the present chapter is to consider in further detail ways and means of using the fourth group of subjects referred to in Chapter VI, to give that opportunity for aesthetic creation—that training in appreciation—which is an essential part of the Continuation School curriculum. It is my conviction that such ways and means are, broadly speaking, the same for all the arts; if, therefore, I illustrate my general principles by reference to one of the arts in particular, this is because it is mainly in connexion with literature that my own practical experience has been obtained.

It is not proposed in this chapter to discuss the teaching of literary appreciation and creation in general; this has already been well done elsewhere. I myself owe an immense debt to such books as Mr. Caldwell Cook's *Playway*, Mr. F. H. Hayward's *The Lesson in Appreciation*, and Mr. Greening Lamborn's *Rudiments of Criticism*. I wish here merely to consider how far the methods advocated by such writers are practically applicable to Continuation Schools in view of the special conditions obtaining therein, and in view particularly of the limitations of time referred to in Chapter VI.

Neither does this chapter profess to concern itself with 'The Teaching of English'. Language is many things besides an art. As the medium of instruction it has its place in all subject-groups: as a medium of social exchange, especially if teaching proceeds on group lines, it will play an important part in Groups II and III. Further, literature itself is many things besides an art, and the study of literature for the sake of its 'cognitive

content'—for the light which it can throw upon life—is probably best pursued in connexion with Group III. Here it is simply proposed to consider literature as akin to other arts—to music, painting, dancing, the drama—and as possessing therefore a value of its own; a value to be expressed in terms of enjoyment and not of utility, or even of 'relevance'.

The suggestions which will here be made are based upon two assumptions. The first—legitimate as a working hypothesis until psychological research has been carried further—is that every man is potentially an artist, and that the difference between the capacity of the genius and that of the man in the street is a difference of degree rather than of kind. The second is that creation and appreciation are kindred activities, developing together, and reacting favourably upon each other.

From the acceptance of this fundamental position—the position, in a word, that one's students are potentially artists in a double sense—two practical suggestions follow. In the first place, students should be encouraged to write less at the bidding of a superior mind than for their own satisfaction and for the enjoyment of others. Lest this should sound portentous, let any one who has seen a typical Continuation School class engaged upon an orthodox 'composition exercise' upon a set subject—biting its pens, shuffling its feet, making pellets of blotting-paper, gazing round the room for inspiration (or for other purposes), humming music-hall ditties, and producing perhaps at the end of half an hour a dozen lines of work far inferior in quality to that turned out a few months previously from the primary school—let him consider whether it is not, as has already been suggested, time to try more ambitious methods. Further, if the justification of such methods be admitted to lie, not merely in the quality of the work done in school hours, but in the number of stories, essays, poems, and magazine articles produced in the student's spare time, then the evidence is overwhelming in their favour.

The second practical suggestion is that creation and appreciation be pursued, not as isolated activities, but hand in hand—as

acting and interacting on each other. On the one hand, appreciation of literature will stimulate the desire to write. In every case within my experience those students who have felt the creative impulse have reached it through their love of reading. Two girls whose prime leisure interest is in reading write as follows :

‘I feel I ought to explain that the great desire to which I have referred is to write. I realize how presumptuous this may sound to you—but still it is true. My life, so far, has not been marked by any great literary effusions, but the desire is very strong within me. You cannot imagine what a joy it has been to me just to know some one who can write. I remember many years ago, when I was young, in fact! going to stay at Dulwich, and hearing one day that Mrs. L. T. Meade, whose books I was swallowing at the time, lived in the neighbourhood. I felt that if I could only see her—see her as one who could write lots and lots of books—I could enjoy the very summit of bliss.’

‘I do not like the sort of English we are doing at present. I like writing real long essays or stories on my own. The English we are doing at present is taken mostly from Dickens. The teacher will read a part of a story, and then tell us to write it in our own books. But I am not fond of doing that sort of English, as I have said before. We have begun games again at school, but I don’t go because I am not very fond of games. I would much rather read. Whenever I pick a book up mother says, “If you keep on as you do you will read your senses away”.’

On the other hand, the impulse to create, once developed, will increase the student’s capacity for appreciation. Once he has come to regard the immortals, not as stars dwelling apart but as fellow strugglers whose standard of achievements is potentially, though not actually, within his own grasp, he will be impelled, not to imitate, but to go to them for stimulus, for inspiration, for guidance as to methods of attack.

His attempt at literary creation should therefore be connected from the outset with his study of the best models, and these may be consulted either before or after his own effort is made. If, for example, his interest is in letter-writing, he should be introduced to the early correspondence of Stevenson or of Fanny Burney.

If his ambition is to write a character study he should compare his own efforts with those of Dickens, George Eliot, or E. V. Lucas. If, while reading *Pickwick Papers*, he has fallen in love with Mr. Winkle, he should be encouraged to carry that hero's adventures further—into other periods or other social spheres—and to represent him as taking a swim, riding a motor cycle, or even undertaking the family washing. After reading Leigh Hunt's essay 'On Getting Up on Cold Mornings' he should try the same topic from the point of view of the young wage-earner.

Examples are given below of work produced with these two principles in mind. They are in no way remarkable from the point of view of the Primary or Secondary teacher. They are only of interest to those who know how unfavourable to aesthetic development are the circumstances in which the young wage-earner is usually placed, and how markedly he usually regresses after leaving the primary school.

A fourteen-year-old girl has read Leigh Hunt's essay 'Now', and produces the following (an attempt to describe a cold day on similar lines):

'Now the snow is thick upon the ground, and the biting wind whistles through the air. Now the ragged little urchin dances from stall to stall, keeping himself warm by looking at the displays of various dainties. Now the rich man wrapped in his fur coat orders Christmas fare. Now the old clock chimes lustily and the carol-singers' song rings through the crisp air. Now the boys come tobogganing down the hill. Crash! into a donkey cart they go, scattering the old man's oranges all over the road. Now the gouty man frowns as he feels a twinge of that bothersome old foot. Now the fires shine out through the windows, and the weary traveller sees the family gathering round the fire, and sighs as he thinks of the long journey before him.'

The next essay was produced by a fourteen-year-old student of less than the normal ability after reading E. V. Lucas's *Our Jack*:

SALLY

She is the rag and bone woman. Nearly every day she is up the back street with her old donkey cart. She wears an old skirt,

patched all over with different kinds of patches—blue patches, green patches, and red ones!—but the colour of the skirt itself is black. A shawl is thrown over her black hair, which she wears in one long *pait*. All the little children come round her cart, for she has windmills that go round if facing the wind; red, yellow, blue, and green blowers; brooches and balloons. Her cart has none of these things on returning. Her husband goes round also with a horse and cart, but he sells pots and pans. He takes one child with him: she is three years old, and has fair curly hair, and she sits on a large plant-pot when they go on their rounds. He has such a lot of customers that he is quite busy.

Their son Jack is ten years old. He has blue eyes and dark curly hair, and a black cat pinned to his cap. Every day he goes round with his big tray; on it there are penny tops, half penny tin-whistles, bats, and balls; and golliwogs are two a penny. Every night he comes home with an empty tray, but the pennies are jingled together in his old black bag.

So Sally and her little family eke out a living between them.

The two fundamental suggestions hitherto made can best be combined through an attempt to organize the literature class as a band of artists—a reading circle—a literary club, on the model of such organizations as spring up spontaneously in the Secondary School or University. Its members should be engaged—individually or in common—in the enjoyment of works of art, in efforts at creation—made both for their own satisfaction and with the conscious aim of giving enjoyment to others; and in the criticism and appreciation of each other's efforts. They should issue a magazine at intervals. They should keep a permanent collection of the best work produced by the group. They should hold meetings at which essays are read aloud and discussed, poetry is recited, stories are told, and dramatic readings given. Members should take it in turns to read original work, to review a book recently read, or to give a paper on the life and works of their favourite writers. Each should keep his own anthology, his own commonplace book, and collection of original work. Members may become familiar with the lives and ideals of such a group as the Pre-Raphaelites, and may claim glorious kinship with them.

It is not, however, suggested that a literary society on these

lines will spring, full-blown, into existence in the course of a night. The desire to create, the necessary technical capacity, and the experience which is to provide the subject-matter, are all requisites of slow growth, and it is the teacher's business to foster and encourage all three. This may need to be done originally through a series of formal lessons, but I am firmly convinced that the sooner formality can be discarded, and activity of the type suggested above set in motion, the more real will creation and appreciation become. I therefore suggest a series of lessons of several types, becoming progressively less formal, and leading up to the ideal of free activity. Each type is illustrated by an example, which has been proved to work in practice.

1. The formal lesson of the type advocated by Hayward in the *Lesson in Appreciation*, and not requiring description here; e.g. Robert Bridges' poem 'London Snow' is studied, and followed by an attempt on the part of the students to describe in prose a snow-scene in their own town, this again followed by a reading of a snow-scene from Dickens, or of the 'Great Winter' from *Lorna Doone*.

2. A formal exercise in 'descriptive writing'. Passages from Miss Mitford's *Our Village* read: their subject-matter analysed. Class writes 'Our Street', and the productions are afterwards passed round or read aloud to the class.

3. A formal lesson on technique and craftsmanship—studied with a view to creation. Class reads Shakespeare's 'When icicles hang by the wall', notes its structure and rhythm, and attempts a verse on similar lines, but with the town instead of the country in mind. Two efforts by fifteen-year-old students of average ability are given here. These, again, are only remarkable as emanating from industrial workers:

'When all the town is thick with snow
And reservoirs are frozen o'er;
And cold the winter winds do blow
And sparrows chirp around our door;
When farmyards all are stripped of fowl,
Then nightly sings the staring owl', &c.

'When the cold wind doth burn my face
And black are footsteps in the snow,
And little children homeward race,
And boys in fun do snowballs throw;
When cats on tiles all night do howl,
Then nightly sings the staring owl', &c.

4. A formal lesson in story-writing. The teacher reads a story aloud: the class, working in groups, writes other stories, using the same motive; e. g. if the story is Mrs. Browning's 'Romaunt of the Page', the motive is 'A young wife gives up everything for her husband'. The results are circulated among the groups for enjoyment.

5. The formal lesson in biography. The teacher tells, or the class reads in groups, the lives of Stevenson, Francis Thompson, Mrs. Browning, George Eliot, William Morris. These may serve as an introduction to a world in which other values prevail than those recognized in a world of industry.

6. Exercise in reading aloud. Class divides into groups: each group studies a ballad, and reads it to the class, different members of the group taking the parts of the characters in the story.

7. Story-telling. Teacher reads one story from each of several selections, for example:

Canton: *Child's Book of Saints*.

Lamb: *Tales from Shakespeare*.

Hawthorne: *Tanglewood Tales*.

E. T. Seton: *Lives of the Hunted*.

O. Henry: *The Four Million*.

Kipling: *Jungle Books*.

Tolstoy: *Twenty-three Tales*.

Hans Andersen: *Fairy Stories*.

Or one of a series of narrative poems:

Tales of a Wayside Inn.

Earthly Paradise.

Tennyson's Narrative Poems.

Robin Hood Ballads.

The class breaks up into groups, each group chooses its own collection from the above, and continues reading. Finally, a member of each group tells, or reads, another story of each series to the class as a whole.

8. Teacher reads a selection of lyric poems, chosen at random, to the class. Individuals, pairs, or groups select the poem which has struck them most, copy it into their anthologies (using script-writing if this has been taught), learn it by heart, and rehearse it to the teacher, who gives hints on elocution. Finally, the poems are recited to the class.

9. Silent reading. Students work as individuals. Each chooses his own novel, finishes it, then writes a review. These are passed round, and on the basis of the reviews each member of the class makes further selection.

10. The goal of endeavour! Free activity. Class reads poetry or prose, learns passages by heart, compiles an anthology, writes letters, or prepares contributions to a magazine, according to taste.

But now as to the aesthetic quality of the results. I once conducted a literary class on the above lines for twelve months; the goal of endeavour was apparently in sight, the students were becoming voracious readers; essays, poems, and stories written in leisure time, sometimes of unmanageable length, were beginning to pour in. But the stories, alas, fell almost without exception into one of half a dozen classes. There was the story of slum life based on George R. Sims; the war melodrama with the German villain and the English hero; the sadly sentimental story recalling *Little Meg's Children*; the crude school-story; the 'strong' personal romance in which love is identified with jealousy; and the supernatural story, founded on Richard Marsh and the cinema serial. Examples of each type could be given: in the interests of brevity one only (abridged) is quoted. It was written by a tiny, charming girl of sixteen, with gracious manners and a facial expression of childlike innocence, and was entitled:

THE GIRL WHO PAID HER PRICE

Down one of the streets of London came Alice Holloway (for such was the girl's name now), smiling all over her pretty face. She had only been married four days, and those four days had been heaven to her. As she turned round the corner of the street she came in collision with some one, and with a smile she was about to walk on when a hand gripped her shoulder, and a sneering voice in her ear whispered, 'So sorry, Mrs. Holloway!' She turned round to find a man whom she had once thought she loved, but now she hated him for all she was worth. 'Are you not glad to see me?' asked Jo Anderson. Glad to see him! Why should he ask that when he knew very well that she hated him? 'Aint you going to speak to an old friend?' he asked again. She answered in a cold voice, 'I'm in a hurry, Jo Anderson; please let go of my shoulder.' 'Not till I have got what I want,' he said. He tried to put his arm round her, but she lifted her hand and gave him a stinging blow on the side of the face. He let go, and she took to her heels and ran, but she was not too far away to hear him say, 'I will pay you for this, you little spitfire.' Hearing these words she ran all the more, never looking back till she got to the door of her newly-made home.

Next morning, when Jim had kissed her good morning, and had gone to work, she sat down upon a chair, thinking should she tell Jim about Jo Anderson? No, she had told Jim when she married him that she had never loved any one else.

Things went well for a long time, until Alice noted something the matter with Jim. He seemed to have something on his mind. The thought struck her—did he know about Jo Anderson?

One day the blow fell. Jim came home early and buried his face in his hands. Alice, who had been out shopping, came in, and seeing her husband, said, 'Why are you so downhearted, Jim?' He raised his head, looked her in the face and said, 'Alice dear, I have lost my work, but I know it is not my fault.' She smiled and said, 'Never mind, dear; we have each other: and I am sure there is a silver lining somewhere.' He got up, took her in his arms, and kissed her. 'You are the sweetest woman in the world,' said he; 'now I will tell you all about it.' His face set, and his eyes had a look that Alice could never forget. 'Everything went well until Jo Anderson came to work with me.' 'Jo Anderson!' exclaimed Alice, 'Why, does he work with you?' 'Yes, dear, do you know him?' 'Yes, I—I knew him when—'

when I was working, but I never liked him.' 'Well,' said Jim, 'I am sure that he has something to do with it. You know that I am working hard at my invention, don't you, dear?' 'Yes,' said Alice. 'Well,' continued Jim, 'when I went to work this morning, some one had been messing with it, and because I got my temper up the boss sacked me. When I came out I saw that man laugh as though he was glad.'

Alice said nothing for a long time. Joe's words were ringing in her ears—'I will pay you back for this.' She forced a smile and said, 'Never mind, dear, we will find some way to make ends meet.'

Weeks passed, and still Jim could not find work. And poverty was knocking at the door. One day, as he was passing the place where he used to work, he saw to his surprise that it was on fire. He ran up to the crowd and heard them say, 'The boss, the boss!' He looked up, and saw a man at a top-story window. He pressed through the crowd and ran to the door. Up the stairs he ran until he reached the boss's room, and there he saw two men—the boss and Jo Anderson! He got hold of one man, and shouted to the crowd to get ready to catch him. He dropped him through the window, and then did the same with the other.

He ran out of the room and down the staircase, and the smoke nearly choked him. How he got out of that building he never knew, for he dropped down at the door.

When he came round he was outside the factory, and as he got up to walk a man said, 'Mr. Anderson wants you.' He followed to where Jo Anderson was lying, and knelt down beside him. Jo was dying. He told Jim he had spoilt his invention because Jim had taken Alice away from him. The manager, hearing this, looked at Jim and said, 'Forgive me, Jim; you must come back to your place again.' Jo Anderson, hearing this, died with a smile on his face.

Jim went home, to find poor Alice crying. He went up to her and said, 'Alice, dear, I know all; let us begin again, for I have got my place back.' And she agreed.

When I had recovered from the shock of reading several such stories as the above, my problem reshaped itself as follows. Granted that our student has developed a love of reading and a familiarity with the best models—granted the wish to write and

the possession of a certain amount of technical ability—what does he by preference read, and what by preference write? Has he any conscious standard by which to discriminate between his own efforts and those of the immortals—between the classics and popular literature of the worst type? If not, should an attempt be made to give him such a standard, or can he discriminate unconsciously? More fundamental still—granted the power of discrimination, does he, both in his reading and writing, know the better and choose the worse? And if so, can anything be done to alter this state of affairs?

To return for a moment to the first question. What does the student by preference read? Let the inquirer who is in a position to do so try a simple experiment. Let him leave in the school cloak-room, or in any place to which the literary standards of the class-room do not penetrate, a blank sheet of paper, with a note inviting scholars to write thereon the names of books they would like bought for the School Library. The result will probably be such as to cause him to follow my example, and to destroy, in a moment of emotion, a piece of valuable evidence. Less sensational results may be obtained by asking students to name a list of those books actually in the School Library which are most widely read by themselves and their fellows. A facsimile of one such list (compiled by a girl in whose judgement I have the utmost confidence) is given below:

The Scarlet Pimpernel Series.

(*The Emperor's Candlesticks* is not read much—dry.)

Daddy Long Legs and *Dear Enemy*.

Tale of Two Cities.

Jane Eyre.

Mary Barton.

The Cinderella Man. (I don't like it.)

The Lure of the Desert.

The Soul of Allah. And all Kathleen Rhodes's books.

The Laughing Cavalier.

<i>Beau Brocade.</i>	} Baroness Orczy's books.
<i>Leather Face.</i>	
<i>The Tangled Skein.</i>	
<i>The Bronze Eagle.</i>	
<i>The Sowers.</i>	
<i>Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch.</i>	

Further light is thrown upon the problem by the following extracts from letters and from book-reviews written for class magazines :

'We have very little poetry at school lately (worse luck), but plenty of silent reading. I have read the *Scarlet Pimpernel*, the *Elusive Pimpernel*, *I Will Repay*, *El Dorado*, and if I can get *Lord Tony's Wife* I think I shall have read all the series then. I enjoy reading them—they are so much more sensible than the cheap novels, aren't they?'

'I have been reading one or two of Baroness Orczy's books lately, and I am very much delighted with them. I think I like her books better than any other author's because they grip you so.'

'There are many interesting and thrilling parts in *Jane Eyre*. The most thrilling part strikes me to be the part where Mr. Rochester makes love to Jane. The story seems to me to be very much like real life, and stories that are true are always more strange than fiction.'

'*The Tale of Two Cities*. Gives a fine description of the French Revolution. Is a story of love, adventure, devotion, and tragedy. A splendid description is given of Madame Defarge and her followers. Another fine scene is where Carton is riding to the guillotine with a young seamstress who guesses his identity, and under his influence meets death bravely.'

'The fire and the murder are the most exciting parts in *Mary Barton*. The story is very pathetic in some parts, especially when Margaret goes blind and when John Barton refuses to speak to Esther. It is a probable story, and when you are reading you can almost see the events happening before you.'

It would appear from the above that the demand of the girl wage-earner is primarily for personal romance—of the type so

liberally supplied by Baroness Orczy and others. The demand is, in fact, put explicitly by the writer of the following paragraph :

'A few of the girls in our class were arguing about heroines in penny novels, or in any book, in fact—why should they always make the heroine beautiful and the hero handsome? I, for my part, would rather them be so. Would any one enjoy reading a book which began like this :

"She was sitting in the hollow of the big tree when he first saw her. Her hair was short and bitty, and was pulled back from her forehead. Her cheeks were pale and thin, and her eyes reminded one of a cat always watching." And the same of the hero. Whoever would rather read that than the ordinary description of a heroine? I don't think they would enjoy reading very much. I know I wouldn't, would you?'

To proceed to the next question. Does the student who demands literature of this type realize its inferiority? On the whole, yes. The writer has often discussed the question of the penny novelette with Continuation classes and has never failed to extract the following admissions :

- (1) That the stories are entirely untrue to life.
- (2) That the plots are all alike.

Why, then, does the demand continue in face of such admission? The true answer is probably that given by Bernard Hart in his book on the *Psychology of Insanity*. Fiction, he suggests, caters much more largely for the unconscious demands of mankind than for the conscious. It provides satisfaction not only for unfulfilled but also for unacknowledged desires. The man for whose instincts modern civilization offers no adequate means of expression can find relief in three ways—in dreams, in fantasies, or in fiction. If his life is starved of personal romance he may read Ethel Dell : if he is cramped by the complexity and sophistication of modern civilization he may forget these in following the fortunes of Tarzan : if he revolts against safety and monotony, there are vicarious thrills in the *Scarlet Pimpernel*. And as life becomes drabber and more cramping, so fiction grows wilder and more

exuberant. Lack of proportion in any one direction is balanced by corresponding exaggeration in another.

What the wage-earning girl, for example, asks of literature, of the cinema, and of her dreams—is the personal romance, the wealth, beauty, luxurious surroundings, and adventure which reality has denied her. These in some form she probably must get; if literature refuses them she will seek them still more diligently in the cinema. If this, too, is reformed, then fantasy will absorb more of her energy than ever, dissociation will become dangerously complete, and neurosis may develop. The lower type of cinema and the cheap novelette are not causes, but symptoms, of social evil. They have sprung into existence in response to a demand which they may satisfy but did not create. They may even act to some extent as social safeguards against worse alternatives, which will surely follow if the outlets which they provide are closed.

The fundamental remedy is, then, nothing less drastic than social reconstruction. The problem of literary taste can, ultimately, only be solved by the statesman. Literature is, after all, an interpretation of experience, and a sane appreciation of healthy literature can only be based on a sane and healthy experience. I remember nothing in my own experience more remarkable than the craving for bad literature which attacked me during my first few months of life under crude industrial conditions, or the way in which the love of poetry suddenly deserted me. Poetry, in fact, seemed to have no connexion with the life which I was then living. And the same is no doubt true, in even greater degree, of the life of the average young wage-earner.

This is not, however, to say that nothing can be done by the school, since at least a part of the student's experience lies within the school's sphere of influence. The first concern of the teacher should be to provide for the student as satisfying a personal experience as possible. The best line of attack on preposterous school stories, for example, is to make possible an absorbing and satisfying school life, a life to which the activities suggested earlier

in this book may contribute. Scope for the primitive man should be provided through sports, camping, and outdoor pursuits of all kinds. The taste for the abnormal—which makes, for example, nine out of every ten 'Character studies' written by Continuation students concern themselves with the blind, the crippled, or the insane—can best be counteracted by such social intercourse as will reveal the variety and inexhaustibility of ordinary human nature. The love of mystery, excitement, and adventure which creates the demand for detective stories, can be in some measure satisfied by signalling, tracking, and other scouting games.

So much for the supplementation of experience. But there exist, in the student's normal life, other elements which merely need emphasis. The town-bred child can hardly appreciate Nature poetry until he has been introduced to Nature at first hand: but the ugliness of towns and town life is no excuse for reading no poetry at all. The aesthetic possibilities of wet streets by lamplight; of buildings silhouetted against an evening sky; of sunsets reflected in house-windows; of greengrocers' shops and flower-shops; of the colour schemes in well-dressed drapers' windows; of the way in which a snowfall obliterates all vertical lines and emphasizes horizontal ones, making a new town for those who can see—all these need to be exploited rather than ignored, and it is possible to find literature—Drinkwater's 'A Town Window' for example, or Wordsworth's 'Westminster Bridge'—which interprets these things.

The transformation, supplementation, and interpretation of experience is, then, the fundamental line along which the problem of literary taste is to be attacked. But something, however little, can be done through literature itself. There is no doubt that the free production of students, though based ultimately upon a vicious social experience, is immediately influenced by what they have read. The derivation of 'The Girl who Paid her Price', for example, can be traced immediately from *Mary Barton* and a collection of O. Henry stories, more remotely through several years' assiduous attendance at cinemas, back to an undiluted

industrialism. And the immediate sources of inspiration, at least, lie to some extent within the teacher's control, and can be to the same extent purified. The taste for romance can be satisfied by Stevenson and Morris; for adventure by Scott, Shackleton, and Livingstone; for sport by Ernest T. Seton and Kipling's *Jungle Stories*; for primitive life by Irish, Swedish, and Russian folk-tales; Sexton Blake can be replaced by Conan Doyle, or by Chesterton. If school stories are wanted, *Tom Brown* and *The Hill* are better than *The Captain* and the *Boys' Friend*.

But the purification of sources must not be carried too far. The Continuation teacher will do well to avoid the classics as such. These represent, broadly speaking, mature experience seen through the maturest minds. But the young wage-earner has essentially an undeveloped mind, and prefers experience of a cruder type. He is unprepared for a masterpiece, and will misinterpret it if it be offered him. The transition from the more to the less crude—from the part to the whole—must be very gradually made. Whole areas of experience—mysticism, for example—may be beyond his range altogether. The writer once tried the experiment of reading the first part of Coleridge's *Christabel* to a class of Continuation students, and leaving them to finish the story. The endings supplied were of three types. There was the blood-and-thunder melodrama, spiced with revolver-shots, poison-phials, policemen's whistles, step-ladders, and rescues from burning houses. There was the crudely realistic ending in which Geraldine and Christabel, wrapped in blankets, regale themselves on glasses of hot milk. And there was the super-supernatural story in the best cinema style. One effort, which succeeds in combining all three styles, is given below in an abridged form.

ORIGINAL ENDING TO *CHRISTABEL*

In a few minutes both Geraldine and Christabel were fast asleep. In the morning a servant awakened Christabel by knocking loudly at the door and crying, 'Oh, Miss Christabel! come

down quickly: something has happened to Sir Leoline.' Christabel ran swiftly down stairs in her dressing-gown, and found her father recovering from a faint. He told her he had been warned that there was an evil presence in the house. Christabel at once remembered Geraldine, whom she had forgotten in her fright about her father. She went back upstairs and found Geraldine crying bitterly. Geraldine's handkerchief was wet, but her eyes looked bright, and she did not look as if she were really crying. Christabel asked her what was the matter, and Geraldine told her that she dreamed that Christabel's lover was dead. Christabel grew pale, but spoke no word. Geraldine then asked Christabel what was the matter downstairs, and when she told her Geraldine was wild with fright, and all her beauty left her and she turned into a witch. Then she vanished, and Christabel heard a voice saying that Geraldine was an evil spirit who wished to part her lover and Christabel. It was the voice of Christabel's dead mother, who had come to guard Christabel and her father from the evil presence. It said that Christabel's lover was not dead but was coming home, and that Geraldine had known this and wanted to get Christabel out of the way so as to impersonate her, marry her lover, and get her dowry. Then the voice ceased, and soon after Christabel saw her lover coming up the stairs with her father. A week later they were married amid great rejoicing, and lived happily ever after.

If the Continuation teacher would avoid fiascos such as the above, he must aim not immediately at the best, but rather at the second-rate. His policy should be to encourage the reading of books which may form a ladder from the penny novelette to the classics. The School Library should supply deliberately books of three types. Firstly, books intended for home consumption, suited to odd moments and a noisy environment, and which may make some appeal to other members of the family—for example, *Tom Sawyer*, *Three Men in a Boat*, *Daddy Longlegs*, *Little Women*, Sherlock Holmes stories, *Alice in Wonderland*. Secondly, books requiring for their appreciation some concentration and the relatively peaceful atmosphere of the 'silent reading lesson'—*Treasure Island*, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, *Masterman Ready*, Fenimore Cooper's stories, *A Christmas Carol*. Thirdly, books

which will not be read unless the teacher lend his aid and encouragement, either by discussing the story, giving a lift over 'dry' passages, or reading the most dramatic passages aloud—for example, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Lorna Doone*, *Ivanhoe*, *Cranford*, *Westward Ho!*

Into the selection of such literature one further consideration should enter. The books which the student reads should either enlarge his experience or should reinterpret experience which he already possesses. As far as possible, therefore, books of the crudely realistic type—which emphasizes the already familiar without illuminating it—should be avoided. On the other hand, anything in the way of phantasy—a George Macdonald fairy story—a Morris romance—Lewis Carroll—is a distinct gain if the student can be induced to take it.

How far, now, has the questionnaire in which the present discussion originated been answered? If the line of argument here followed be correct, then the possession of a conscious standard is of little help. It is, indeed, quite possible, on our present hypothesis, for students to know the better and choose the worse. The realization, for example, that the plot of the penny novelette is both untrue to life and lacking in variation is no bar to its acceptability. For our student does not ask of his literature that it shall 'hold the mirror up to nature'; of life as he knows it he has had enough already. And secondly, since the life against which he is unconsciously protesting is uniform in its defects, the fiction which supplements it may well be unvarying in its plot.

Nevertheless, conscious criteria may as well be given for what they are worth. A discussion of aesthetic theory would be out of place here; practical suggestions only will be offered. I have found it convenient to familiarize my students with four simple tests of literary value, which may be summed up as follows:

1. Truth. Is the story or poem true to life, or (in the case of a phantasy) to its own conventions? e. g. would the story of the 'Lord of Burleigh' really happen as it is told? Would the lady really die?

2. Unity. Does the story or poem hang together—is it consistent? e. g. in the case of the chorus from *Abraham Lincoln*, beginning 'Ye who have gone gathering cornflowers and meadow-sweet', does the second part follow naturally and inevitably from the first?

3. Sincerity. Does the author really feel what he says he feels? e. g. are Rose Macaulay's feelings in 'Many Sisters to Many Brothers' genuine or a pose?

4. Successful expression. Has the author made his meaning clear? If we misunderstand, is it our fault or his? e. g. if we read Browning's 'My Last Duchess' and imagine the Duchess to be at fault, have we failed, or has Browning?

In the application of tests, such as the above, a class will soon become surprisingly skilled.

But when all has been said, the main contention of this chapter holds good. The literary taste of any age is a reflection, and a test, of the social life of that age. And the cure for the vicious taste of the present generation lies not in the encouragement of literary appreciation and creation, but in social reconstruction.

IX

THE SOCIAL CLUB; OLD STUDENTS

THE case for the Social Club is based upon the general argument advanced in Chapter IV: there is therefore no need to restate it here fully. Training in self-government, the Social Club, and group-activity in intellectual matters constitute, it has been suggested, the triple foundation upon which the successful Continuation School can be built.

The unique value of the Social Club rests upon the fact that its activities are purely voluntary in character—voluntary, that is, in the sense that they are not enforceable *ab extra*, whether by central or local authority, or by school or factory staff.

The activities of the Club are, in essence, leisure-time activities. They may, and should, link on to the ordinary pursuits of the school, and plans may be laid for them in school hours; but their distinguishing characteristics must never be lost sight of. They are 'the very red rose flower' of those opportunities for self-development on the one hand, and for participation in group-life on the other, which it is the business of the school to provide; and leisure, suitable soil, and fair weather, rather than intensive culture or the forcing-house atmosphere, provide the conditions under which they may bloom to perfection. The object of the present chapter is to make practical suggestions for the provision of such conditions.

In the first place, the demand for the Club should originate with the scholars, and not from above or from the outside. Local authorities and enthusiastic staffs, while recognizing in their schemes the value of making provision for leisure-time activities, should beware of forcing the pace. Granted the adoption of

group methods in connexion with the ordinary school activities, the idea of a Social Club can be relied upon to arise spontaneously among the students. The original demand will probably be for some form of organized games, but it will subsequently put forth other shoots.

In order that the voluntary nature of the venture may be preserved, the Club should, as far as possible, be run by the students themselves. All committees connected with it should be democratically elected. Hence it is advisable that the scheme be not mooted until the scholars have become acquainted with each other's capacities and idiosyncrasies. The Committee should consist of one member of each class, and such members of staff as the elected members care to co-opt (in practice they will probably co-opt the staff as a body). The Committee should be re-elected at the beginning of each term. Democratic election does not, however, preclude the need for certain permanent officials, who, owing to the peculiar nature of Continuation School organization, must be members of the staff. A Continuation School, as a permanent official of the Board of Education once put it, is not a school, but a procession. Only the staff comes in contact with the five or more sets of scholars who pass through the school in the course of a week. And a treasurer and librarian, at least, need to be permanently on the spot.

Membership of the Club should be regarded always as a privilege rather than as a duty, and no pressure should be put upon students to join. For this reason the Club Committee should be as far as possible distinct in personnel from either the Prefects' Committee or the School Committee. There is a danger lest hot-headed enthusiasts, serving in two capacities, should use their authority against those students who, owing to long-distance journeys, attendance at evening schools, home responsibilities, or other considerations, are slow to join the Club.

Committee Meetings should be held at intervals of about six weeks or as need arises. Each class should be encouraged to make complaints or suggestions to its own Club member, who

will bring these forward in Committee. A Secretary should be elected, and should keep a careful record of all proceedings. Club accounts should be laid on the table a quarter of an hour before the Committee meets, in order that criticism of expenditure may take place freely in the absence of the staff. After each meeting every Committee member should inform his own class of the business done.

Sub-committees should be appointed by the main Committee to run each of the activities which the Club undertakes. Thus there will be separate committees, each probably of two or three students with one or more members of the staff co-opted—for hockey, dancing, net-ball, swimming, a library, a needlework or rambling club, a quiet evening, a dramatic society, choir, or sick club.

The Club finances should be provided by the scholars themselves, and not by local authorities or interested employers. The local authority may, however, reasonably permit free use of the school buildings and grounds, and of the ordinary school equipment, in the evenings. Schools carried on in hired buildings will, of course, find the difficulties of running a club to be immense.

The subscription to the Club should be fixed by the Committee, and reconsidered from time to time in accordance with the state of trade locally. It will probably vary from 1*d.* to 3*d.* weekly, and the Committee should have the option of remitting or reducing the subscriptions in the case of necessitous members or during spells of unemployment. Other things being equal, the subscriptions should be fairly high for the first few months, and lower when the Club has found its financial legs.

Club subscriptions should be collected weekly by the Committee member of each class. Funds must, however, be directly administered by the Treasurer, who, for reasons previously given, must be a member of the school staff. It is most important that such administration be intelligible to all members and beyond question. Hence it is desirable that Club equipment be not

bought wholesale from large firms, but purchased locally by members of the Committee. Such shopping has itself an educative value which compensates for the small financial sacrifice involved. It is worth while, for example, for girls to exercise thought and care over the purchase of flowers for school decorations, and of fruit and other delicacies for sick members: or to supplement their knowledge of small local shops and sixpenny bazaars, by acquaintance with a good book-shop, a good music-shop, a large stationer's or draper's. All purchases should be entered in the Club account-book and initialled by the members responsible. Receipts should in all cases be obtained and filed.

In order to avoid the criticism that members with more leisure time will get better value out of their club subscriptions than the others, it is advisable that activities in which relatively few members take part should be only partly financed by the Club. Members of swimming and rambling clubs, for example, should pay half their own expenses. Or again, the Club should provide material for general, but not for individual use. It may provide choir-music, paint-boxes, gymnastic apparatus, and library books, but individual members should pay for their own swimming costumes, scrap-books, needlework materials, and dramatic costumes, or should purchase these from the Club at a reduced rate.

A half-yearly statement of accounts should be publicly posted, and all Committee members should help in its preparation. The balance-sheet should be discussed in full Committee before it is posted.

There can be no question as to the enthusiasm and active service which an organization of this type may call forth. In the case of one such club, several mothers ventured the remark that their daughters 'might as well take their nightdress and a bed to school and be done with it'. The sick steward of another club spent, to my knowledge, four nights a week for several months in visiting sick members. Much unobtrusive devoted work (involving the lugging about of many chairs, and strict self-denial in the

matter of refreshments!) was done in one case by Committee members who volunteered for service as stewards on Sports days and at school socials. One Club secretary threw herself, with all the energy of which she was capable, into the organization of a variety troupe which gave entertainments in aid of local charities. She writes as follows :

‘I wish you could see our Concert to-night ; it is the first time we have given this one, and to tell the truth I am a little afraid, though everything is perfectly prepared. You see we have ten fresh girls to teach now, and I do want it to be a success. I have worked so hard at all things, and though everything *should* go off all right, I am *afraid of being afraid* when the time comes. Do you know what I mean? But it must be a success, it’s got to be : and if it is not, well, I shall never stand on a platform again—I shall be so disappointed. Ma says she is going to have me down with brain fever if I don’t be careful. Any way I could stand having that if I thought the Concert was sure to be good. I should think it was worth it. Really—I have never felt this way before—my only and daily thought is the troupe!’

Further, the Club may be a valuable link between the school and the students’ homes. The library books, needlework patterns, and magazines which the Club may issue to members will be read and used by parents as well as by children. Gifts of flowers and fruit, and visits to sick members, are greatly appreciated by the families concerned, and will help to enlist the goodwill of the parents on behalf of the school. A mother once remarked to me, ‘This Club is a grand thing : it is better than parading the streets.’ Another mother volunteered to lend crockery for a social in the days before the Club could afford to buy, and afterwards bought herself more rather than ask for it back.

Finally, the Club is well worth while from the point of view reached toward the end of the previous chapter. It can change markedly the attitude of an indifferent or recalcitrant student, and, once it is well established, public suspension from its privileges is almost the only threat which an outraged authority need hold over the heads of offenders.

Several experimental schools known to me have extended the activities of their Social Club in order to make provision for the needs of old students, and there is much to be said for this course. If all attempts to deal with the student on the lines here suggested cease simultaneously and automatically at sixteen, as is usually the case under the present temporary arrangement, the results already achieved may be largely thrown away. At this point many of the obstacles and resistances which checked progress during the first two years have been overcome. The student is beginning to realize the meaning and value of education. The training which has been given through self-government, through group-work, through the Social Club, is bearing fruit. It seems therefore essential, if an effective return is to be obtained for the energy already expended, that the Continuation School should supplement voluntarily, by means of an Old Students' Club, the activities of the last two years. Such a club will, in organization, traditions, and type of activity, be a natural successor to the Social Club for present students.

It is, however, advisable—again in the interests of economy and efficiency—that the Old Students' Club should, as far as possible, avoid overlapping with other voluntary agencies. The Continuation School should not attempt to corner the market in wage-earning adolescence; rather should it endeavour to co-operate with and to make use of the many types of effort which are being directed to its own ends. Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Civic Recreation Leagues, religious organizations of all sorts, can at this point profitably relieve the school of much of its responsibility. They can help to make the process by which the young wage-earner is detached from the apron-strings of educational organizations and set upon his own path as gradual and as unobtrusive as possible.

Suppose, however, that our student has received four years' training, as will be the case when the Fisher Act is brought fully into force, and leaves school at eighteen. The psychological situation is now different. He has, in the eyes of the law, come of age for many practical purposes. He is no longer a 'young

person' but an adult. A powerful new interest—that of sex—is probably, even if not precociously stimulated, absorbing much of his time and energy. If he has achieved in any degree the stability and maturity of character which it has been the aim of the school to foster, a tendency to independence of tastes and pursuits will be strongly marked.

As he looks back on his school years he will realize more, fully than before how much he owed to them—as the following quotations from letters will bear witness:

'I often think how kindly fortune smiled on us when she gave us the new kind of school, with all its joys.

'I do miss going to school: it was a change after doing the same thing all the time. I do not know any news about school now—only that the girls are learning Botany. Every morning going to work May Titmarsh teaches me the different trees and how to know them.'

'I do wish you were still teaching at the old Firm again; wouldn't it be jolly if we were all back again as we were before you left. Wouldn't I love to lead you all a dance?'

'I feel very lonely now having to miss my school days. I took such a great interest in school: but I shall not be away from it altogether.'

'I must say I miss school very much; we had a very good time there, and it was quite a happy change from the monotonous mill life.'

'The time seems to drag so wearily without school. The two days at school made a delightful change in the week. Now it is all the same day after day—and can you wonder that one longs for a change of some sort.'

But with such realization will come a reaction which is none the less healthy. The test of the value of the school will be, in fact, the extent to which it has enabled the scholar to rely on his own resources. His energy, instead of continuing to centre in the school, should, it is suggested, seek two main channels. In the first place, such objective interests as he has acquired should be

further pursued. With the development of Continuation Schools, all organizations and institutions existing for the promotion of adult education should come into their own. Technical Classes and Commerce Schools are already full to overflowing, but the Fisher Act should in addition transform the Workers' Educational Association, fill the Working Men's and Women's Colleges, give a tremendous stimulus to Week-end and Summer Schools, ensure the success of Repertory Theatres and Schools of Art, provide University Extension and other popular centres with new audiences, and the Libraries with a new reading public.

That this process has already in some measure begun the following extracts from letters will bear witness. The first two are written by Continuation students, who at the time of writing are members of an experimental Working Women's College :

'On October 26th the first term began, and yesterday it ended. I think it has been quite a success so far ; every one of the students has enjoyed herself, and is quite keen to begin next term. The subjects taken are the Growth of Literature, and History from Prehistoric Man until the present day. We have been studying ancient Egypt, Greece, and have now arrived at Rome, where we shall continue next term. I have enjoyed the History very much, and have taken the keenest interest in it. . . . Mr. — gave lantern lectures on Renaissance Art. He began with the technique of painting, and illustrated its progress through the centuries. And he showed us how the spirit of Art and its real meaning was slowly dying until it finally ended in Michael Angelo's work. . . . In Bible Study we began with the Creation of the World and of man. The first lectures on Literature and on Bible Study were so much alike that not one of us could tell which was which.'

'I expect you have heard from Bessie of what a good time they are having (and we had last term) at the Winter School? Perhaps I ought rather to say what a helpful and instructive time they are having! But I am afraid that I always look back on my five months there as the most enjoyable holiday I have ever had. Not that I undervalue in the least the intellectual good I derived from it ; for that I am intensely grateful. It is not that I gained much additional superficial knowledge, but there were vast fields of interest and study opened up to me. It is to Miss — that I

feel most indebted in this respect. She gave us once a lecture on the Renaissance, and then asked us to write an essay on some particular phase of that subject. This was absolutely new to me, but, influenced chiefly by Bessie's enthusiasm, I became intensely interested in it. Since I have been home I have followed it up, and it has helped me to read things which, without its help, would have been beyond my power of understanding—or at least appreciating—for instance, Pater's *Renaissance*, Browning's *Fra Lippo Lippi* and *Del Sarto*, and at present *Romola*.

Another student gives the following account of a Week-end School at a Quaker Settlement:

'I went to the Summer School a fortnight ago. I enjoyed myself so much. The Reverend —, of Yale, U.S.A., gave lectures on America—the beginning of self-rule in America, America's struggle for freedom, and Abraham Lincoln. The lecture on Abraham Lincoln was simply grand. It lasted for two hours. I felt as though I could have listened to Mr. — for ever. He was so interesting, and spoke with such fervour on the touching incidents in Lincoln's life. Fanny, Ruby, and Olive went too. We all enjoyed ourselves.'

Two old students, asked to join a W.E.A. Class, write as follows:

'I am so glad the classes are starting next week, as I have been looking forward to them since we first knew they were going to be held. It seems such a long time since I attended a History Class.'

'I am looking forward to the future Tuesday evening class. It will be lovely having the English Poets and their works over again, especially having the lessons out of doors. We took the lives of the English Poets our last term at day-school and I did enjoy it. It was almost like meeting new friends to hear all about their lives. I was very sorry to part with them too.'

So much for the further development of intellectual interests. Secondly, energy not thus absorbed may be directed to social service. The tradition of group membership and of collective effort acquired in the Continuation School should be carried on into the world outside. Many students may prefer still to use the

old channels, to become members of Old Girls' Committees, of Study Circles, Dramatic Societies, Clubs, and Choirs attached to the school: they may throw their energy into the organization of socials and entertainments, and into the running of a school magazine. Probably, however, a more real testimonial to the value of the school is provided by those who devote their developed capacity for social service to the solution of home problems, to Sunday School teaching, work in connexion with their Trade Unions, Guide Troops for younger girls, and similar activities less immediately connected with the school. To the latter type belongs the girl who, after a year at a famous Worker's College, writes as follows:

'As for me, I believe I have made more progress than I ever thought I should. I never dreamt I should come here, and when I got here I never dreamt that I should be called upon to speak on behalf of workers who were only earning £2 per week, and much less did I ever dream of being congratulated on such service. This happened when the bus workers came out on strike. . . . However, here I am, after having had three terms at —; and as I look back on those months I realize that they will stand out, not only as the happiest and greatest for their educational value, but for their effect on my mind and character. I realize now that I have heaps of faults and shortcomings, and feel that I require very much experience of life before I can ever begin to understand how I can best serve the community. At present I am thinking very seriously of going to London and working in the — trade there to get some idea of the conditions under which many of our girls exist. From that I feel that I ought definitely to do some kind of social work, but at present I am not sure what kind.'

Whether the socialized will, thus developed, will ultimately find scope and satisfaction rests with the world outside and not with the Continuation School.



X

PARENTS, FELLOW WORKERS, AND EMPLOYERS

THE success of the Continuation School, though probably depending in the last resort upon the personnel of its staff, may also be powerfully influenced by forces working upon the young industrial worker from other quarters. Foremost among these influences stand the parent, the employer, and the fellow worker, and it is all-important that the Continuation School should do what it can to enlist the co-operation and support of these.

Let the attitude of the parent to the School be first considered. It is, of course, as varied as is the attitude of individual students—or, again, as varied as is the attitude of adults to all schemes and measures possessing social or political significance. If, however, I may venture to generalize from my own experience, I may say that I have met parents of, broadly speaking, four types.

There is, first, the parent who is the extreme product of the Industrial Revolution and of a century of the economic struggle for existence—whose parents were wage-earners before him, who was born into the industrial system as at present constituted; who accepts its assumptions uncritically, and who tends therefore to regard his family as a business proposition. To him, any attempt to raise the school-leaving age—any scheme whose effect might be to decrease temporarily the wage-earning power of adolescence—is at once an attempt to defraud him of his economic rights and a violation of the liberty of the subject. It is this type of parent who, during the recent controversy over the establishment of Continuation Schools in a large urban area, declared the question at issue to be 'Education versus starvation', or 'Is it right for the Government to fasten more burdens on the starving people?' and who, speaking of a local education official, said,

‘If I was to take four shillings out of his pocket, I should do time for it, but he can take four shillings out of my boy’s pocket every week and nothing will be said.’

The views of parents of this type were during the same controversy further expressed as follows :

‘I think if a man has a good job for his son he should be allowed to keep him at it a whole week, not half a week.’

‘When children are fourteen, it is quite time they began to earn for themselves.’

‘This last act of injustice only means that the woman shall bring her child into the world to work and slave for, and receive no benefit in return.’

The same type of mother, when her daughter is discovered to have consumptive tendencies, laments : ‘Just as I was beginning to feel her wages, this happens.’ She is the subject of a remark once made to me : ‘Ellen was brought up by her grandmother till she was twelve: then her mother claimed her because she was ready for half-time.’

Such parents are, however, relatively rare. More common is the parent who cares for, and is interested in, his children for their own sakes rather than as potential contributors to the family income. He is anxious that they should ‘rise in the world’, should ‘do the best for themselves’, should become financially independent, and, if possible, socially successful. He is therefore prepared to accept the Continuation School upon utilitarian grounds. His views are echoed by the student who, on his first day at a Continuation School, asked his head-master, ‘What are you going to do for me here? I am a barber’; and by the mother who at another school said to the mistress, ‘I hope you’ll teach my girl useful things here—no dancing or fancy nonsense of that sort.’

Thirdly, there is the parent who recognizes the value of cultural education, who has a use for accomplishments and for the ‘graces of life’, but who is intensely individualistic in his outlook. He

is content that his children shall avail themselves of such educational opportunities as exist, and is even prepared to make financial sacrifices for them. But his interest lies in their progress only, and not in the progress of society as a whole. Where an attempt is being made to run a school upon the lines here advocated, his opposition is a factor which will have to be reckoned with. If his child transgresses, for example, he must never submit to public judgement upon his action, for his classmates are not his peers. 'A reprimand by the teacher is all that is required,' a parent of this type once said to me. If his child, whether by virtue of character or of exceptional advantages, is proving a valuable leavening force, he must nevertheless be guarded from contaminating influences. 'Those girls are not fit for our Betty to associate with,' reiterated a father, when I begged that his daughter might remain as accompanist to a concert party which Betty was doing much to civilize.

Fourthly, there is the type of parent whose co-operation with the school is of inestimable value—the parent who is usually well known in his Trade Union, often a member of the Workers' Educational Association or of kindred organizations; perhaps a staunch Co-operator—an active church-worker; who recognizes the new social ideal, and is prepared to regard the Continuation School as one among many forces working toward the Co-operative Commonwealth. He can be a tower of strength to the school. His children can be relied upon for active and willing service. Mothers of this type have, to my knowledge, offered refreshment for school socials, lent properties and undertaken sewing for dramatic entertainments, allowed their houses to be used for rehearsals, and carried on behind the scenes active propaganda in favour of the school.

A subsidiary task for the Continuation School, then, is the conversion of parents of the first three types to the views held by the fourth. Fortunately, experience proves that the existing unenlightenment is very largely the result of a lack of information. Principal after Principal of Continuation Schools has borne witness

to the effectiveness of personal discussion and of public propaganda in changing parental opinion.

What are the lines along which such propaganda should proceed? Much can be done at parents' meetings where the aims and curricula of the schools are discussed: more by open days upon which parents visit the school and see work actually in progress.

One girl writes of such an open day as follows:

'Have you heard that we were having a mothers' week at school? My mother came on Tuesday, and she said she never expected it to be anything like it was. She came too late to see our class in Gym, but when I asked her where she had been she said she had been in the cookery-room watching them make milk rolls. All the mothers were surprised, for they did not expect anything like it was.'

Public entertainments, gymnastic displays, &c., are another powerful factor in conversion. Nothing will do more to incline the parent kindly toward the school than seeing his child make a successful public debut.

But of more value still are personal visits to students' homes. They may change the whole attitude of the parent, and will be of inestimable value to the teacher. Intercourse with parents can throw illumination on the early history of difficult students, and will almost always show the student in an entirely new light. It will enable parents to understand the teacher's difficulties and to appreciate the efforts which the school is making. From an interchange of experience the teacher may learn much, and he may do something incidentally to check unenlightened practices, such as the caning of fourteen-year-old girls. Most important of all, such visits can help the teacher to keep proportion as regards the place and importance of the school in the students' life. They can teach him to avoid quenching, in his enthusiasm for his own work, the smoking flax of family solidarity. They can help him to value the sacrifices made, in many homes, by the mother in allowing her daughter to spend certain evenings at the Social

Club rather than in domestic work, and in sending her to school suitably dressed. And they may enable him to realize the difficulties which prevent others from doing so.

The unnatural cleavage which has up to the present existed between the homes of the majority and the schools which serve them must be abolished. The success of any school depends largely on the attitude of parents towards it, since this attitude is necessarily reflected in their children. But even were this not so the change is desirable, on grounds not merely of expediency but of principle. Education is too intimate and vital a matter—affecting family life and family relations too profoundly—to be left entirely in the hands of local authorities or of educational experts, however enlightened. The change is coming fast in all quarters, but the Continuation School in particular must from the outset build firmly upon this belief as foundation.

If the attitude of parents to the Continuation School is crucial, that of fellow workers and employers is little less important. It can determine very largely the attitude of the student—witness the habit, prevailing among the students attending one school, of carrying their books concealed in amorphous parcels, lest their fellow workers should discover their errand! And the factory can affect still more vitally the smooth running of the school in matters like organization, regularity, and punctuality of attendance, the grading of students, and their attendance on days when a suitable curriculum can be provided.

As in the case of the parents, therefore, the best results can be obtained by the co-operation of all parties. Employers, foremen, and overlookers should be invited to visit the school on open days and on social occasions. Return visits should, where possible, be paid by the school staff to the factory, that the teacher may realize the type of work in which their students are engaged. The staffs of both works and school should discuss in conference the treatment of different individuals—who often appear to possess alternating personalities reserved for works and school respectively. Incidentally, the school may do much to humanize the

methods of control adopted in the factory. The school staff may, on the basis of experiments in group-work and in self-government, advise the factory staff as to individuals best fitted for responsibility. Humanly speaking, the school owes to the factory whatever service of this type it can perform, since there is no doubt that the release in rotation of batches of adolescent labour involves the factory staff in much onerous and complicated work.

Such co-operation between school and factory should, however, take place for the present rather over matters of detail than on broad questions of principle and policy. For obvious reasons policy itself should be decided for the present by something as far as possible independent and outside.

NOTE ON SOME ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

ONE of the most hopeful features connected with the working of the Continuation Schools section of the Fisher Act is the amount of latitude which the Board of Education has hitherto allowed to local authorities, and which the latter, in their turn, have allowed to school staffs. Both central and local authorities have, in fact, fought extremely shy of making definite pronouncements on matters of administrative detail. This is all to the good while the schools are in the experimental stage; but there is nevertheless a body of experience gradually accumulating, based on the work of the voluntary schools, which is by no means to be despised by authorities whose schemes are as yet unprepared, and which can throw some light on a few vexed problems. My object, in the present note, is to offer at least a personal opinion upon one or two such controversial topics. On the crucial question of finance I propose to offer no opinion at all.

Everything which will be said subsequently is based upon one fundamental assumption—that the number of scholars attending any school in the course of the week does not exceed 500—roughly 100 per day. The ideal number is 400 per week, or 80 per day—massed for lectures, and organized for group-work in classes of 16 or 20. About 500 students is the maximum number that any one person can get to know individually, and it is essential that at least one person on the staff shall so know them. Further, 500 is the maximum number which can suitably be massed, at any time and place, for corporate activity. It must always be remembered that the development of corporate life is infinitely slower and more difficult among students to whom school is an interlude than is the case in a full-time institution.

If local authorities, on grounds of economy or for other reasons, persist in arranging schools for larger numbers, the only practicable scheme is to make a clear cut throughout the school week and run the school in two or more sections, with one member of the staff responsible for each, and each with its own self-governing system and social club.

What type of building, in these days of economic stress, is best adapted to Continuation School work? The hired buildings—chapels, institutes, and clubs—which many local authorities are employing have two immense drawbacks. Firstly, furniture and equipment are not the property of the school, and freedom of action is restricted accordingly. Secondly, the buildings are hardly ever available for social activities in the evening. But such buildings possess also distinct advantages. They do not continue too obviously the primary school tradition. They are associated in the mind of the student with adult rather than with childish activities: they allow of the adoption of new methods. Their makeshift furniture—in many cases even their lack of furniture—breaks down the temptation, irresistible to many teachers, to arrange their class in serried ranks and to give it formal instruction. Light folding-desks, such as local authorities have in many instances provided, possess immense advantages over heavy permanent furniture. They can be cleared away for activities such as dramatic work, and only set up when the class actually needs to use them.

One of the most promising Continuation Schools which I have seen was held in a long-since disused chapel, with a large high rostrum, and entirely surrounded by a series of small rooms built for Sunday School classes. The floor of the chapel was admirably adapted to assembly and organized games, the rostrum to lectures, dramatic work, and concerts, and the tiny class-rooms to group research.

There is one difficulty connected with the use alike of old buildings and of specially built schools—a difficulty inherent in Continuation School organization. Cloak-room space and floor

space, which are quite adequate to the needs of the 20 per cent. of the total number of scholars who normally attend the school daily, are quite inadequate when the school meets for a speech-day or a social evening. An elastic school is the only solution of this difficulty.

Should students attend school weekly on two half-days separated by as long an interval as possible, or for one whole day at a stretch? Here the pros and cons are almost equal. Most employers and many students prefer the latter alternative. It is commonly more convenient from the point of view of factory-organization, and it sets students' minds free for the day. Again, the whole-day plan enables students to dress fitly for school in the morning, without having to make a hurried change into their working clothes in the dinner-hour, or vice versa. They may spend their lunch-hour pleasantly in school, continuing, if they wish, the activities of the morning, or preparing for those of the afternoon (or eating the dinner which they have cooked), instead of having to rush from school to work, or vice versa.

On the other hand the eight-hour day is long, and to some students exhausting—though this will be less true if the suggestions made above as to curriculum are carried out. Further, enthusiastic students object to having to wait a whole week for their next school-day; physical training certainly, and other studies possibly, are of more value if continued twice weekly; while the twice-weekly half-day, eagerly looked forward to, lived through intensely, exhaustively discussed with work-mates in retrospect, supplemented by evening and Saturday afternoon activities, may do much to illuminate, both in retrospect and prospect, the days which intervene.

On what principle or principles should students be grouped in classes? The only principle, apparently, which the student himself recognizes and is prepared to accept, is that of age. A class in whose case this principle had been overlooked, and which was attempting to pass judgement on an offender, was once put in a considerable quandary by the latter's refusal to accept their

judgement, on the ground that she was six months older than any of them! On the other hand the bias of the teacher is towards grading by intellectual ability—estimated either on the basis of a simple entrance paper, or of the students' record in the primary school, or of the results of intelligence tests. But this type of grading must be undertaken with caution. It cannot fail to be discovered by the students, and is strongly resented by them. Nothing will influence more unfavourably the progress of a class or its attitude to the school than its realization that it is regarded as a 'dud'. Further, if group methods are to be adopted, and if the assimilation of the maximum amount of knowledge is not regarded as the aim of the school, then intellectual ability of the type here alluded to will matter practically much less than will other qualities which cannot be so tested. In any case, the presence, in a group, of students of more than average ability is a positive gain. They will act as stimulus, and may begin immediately to make use of their endowments by helping weaker members.

A method potentially more valuable, though involving much skill and discrimination, is grading by temperament. In the early years of the school's life, while students are unstable and suggestible, there is no more fascinating study than the corporate characters which classes will immediately develop, and no more difficult task than to modify these—to achieve, by shuffling and reshuffling, such a blend of temperament as will assimilate, and if possible transform, undesirable elements, while giving to others increased scope for expression. The 'order' of a school may in fact be determined largely by the skill with which such grading is carried out.

A last problem. Should the local authority incline to adopt the alternative scheme of full-time education to the age of fifteen? Yes, if the object of continued education is to put the student in possession of the maximum amount of information; no, if its object is as here set forth. The first alternative does not solve the essential problem, but postpones it. The student is simply

pitchforked into industry a year later than would otherwise have happened, while still at an unstable and critical stage. The essential value of continued education as here understood lies in the fact that industry and school—the accumulation of experience and the attempt to interpret it—go hand in hand, and that one does not cease where the other begins.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

REPORT OF DEBATE HELD MARCH 4, 1914

That the School Leaving Age should be raised to 16.

Proposed by Mr. Jones.

Opposed by Mr. Parrett.

Seconded by Mr. Matthews.

Seconded by Mr. Dance.

Arguments for. A boy is not able to stand alone in life if he leaves school before he is 16. The brain does not develop fully until 15 or 16, therefore if he leaves earlier he misses that part of his education which would do him most good. References are needed to get on in life, and a schoolmaster will give a better one, most likely, if you stay at school until you are 16. A boy is likely to lose his refinement if he leaves school early. We should try and get a better position than our parents, which can be done if we have a long school-life.

Arguments against. A boy at the age of 13 or 14 is just beginning to feel like work. The best part of his life would be going if he were to stay at school till 16. He could start a business while he was humbugging at school.

Voting. For, 14. Against, 4.

Chairman's Report. The debate was carried out pretty orderly, except for a few interruptions by Haynes and Bedford, the latter spoiling his good speech by misbehaviour. I think the class ought to understand that the chairman is there to control the affair. At times it was very disheartening; no one would come out and speak. Towards the end the speeches became rather personal. Mr. Webb, who was not a principal speaker, gave as good a speech as either of the principal speakers.

Signed. W. TYLER

(Chairman).

APPENDIX B

I. DEBATE ON FACTORY LEGISLATION

15TH MARCH, 1844

The House of Commons in Committee on the Factories Bill.

(a) Lord Ashley to propose the amendment of which he has given notice :

‘That the word “night” shall be taken to mean from 6 o’clock in the evening to 6 o’clock in the following morning ; and the word “mealtime” shall be taken to mean an interval of cessation from work for the purpose of rest and refreshment, at the rate of two hours a day, with a view to effect a limitation of the hours of labour to ten in the day.’

(b) The Right Honourable Sir P. R. G. Graham to oppose the amendment.

(c) Mr. T. Milner Gibson to support the opposition.

(d) Mr. J. Bright to support the opposition.

(e) Other members to speak in support of the amendment.

II. NATIONAL ANTI-SWEATING LEAGUE

A mass meeting will be held in the Town Hall on 5th February, 1908.

The Chair will be taken at 8 p.m., by G. Jackson, Esq., M.P.

The following are expected to speak :

F. Green, Esq. (of the Employers' Federation).

E. Wilson (Sanitary Inspector).

G. Gibson (of the National Federation of Women Workers).

The Rev. Charles Crompton.

The following workers will give evidence :

J. Davidson (a trouser finisher).

L. Bennett (of Cradley Heath).

G. Morrell (a tailoress outworker).

L. Woods (a glove-stitcher).

W. Rogers (a shirt-maker).

Councillor M. Macey will move a resolution.

Questions. Discussion. Collection.

III. COUNCIL MEETING.

Monday, 20th December.

Summons to attend the Council.

The business proposed to be transacted at such meeting is as follows :

To confirm the Minutes of the monthly meeting of the Council held on the 6th day of November 1920.

To approve and adopt such of the acts of the respective Committees of the Council as require approval and adoption.

The Chairman of each Committee to answer such questions of which due notice may where practicable have been given to him.

To receive the following communications from the Mayor, and to pass such resolutions thereon as may be necessary :

1. Letter dated 10th December, from the Minister of Food, thanking the Council for their cordial support in the work of the local Food Administration during the past three years.

2. Letter dated the 26th November 1920, from the Acting Town Clerk of Camberwell, relative to local Bonds for Housing purposes.

To receive a copy of the Minutes of proceedings of the Education Committee at their meeting held on the 27th of November 1920. The Chairman of such Committee (Alderman Knowle) to move that the said Minutes be received and adopted by the Council.

To receive a report of the Household Fuel and Lighting Committee, and the Chairman of such Committee to move that the Report of the Household Fuel and Lighting Committee be received.

Mr. Councillor Borwick to move that this Council having in mind the terrible privations and sufferings that the children of Austria are now passing through in consequence of the extreme shortage of the common necessities of life following the world-

wide war, and further recognizing that such suffering is a serious menace to the speedy and urgent necessity of the reconstruction of Europe, hereby approve of the appointment of a Town Committee for the purpose of arranging for a number of children to be invited to this City, and to make the necessary arrangements for that purpose.

Mr. Councillor Norton to move that in view of the necessity for retrenchments in national and municipal expenditure there shall be no attempt to open the Day Continuation Schools as provided for under the Education Act of 1918, and a copy of this Resolution shall be sent to the Board of Education.

APPENDIX C

SYLLABUS OF COMBINED LITERATURE AND HISTORY COURSE

Britain before the Romans.

Kipling: 'The Knife and the Naked Chalk.'

Britain under the Romans.

Bede: The Building of the Wall.

Kipling: 'A Centurion of the Thirtieth.'

The Anglo-Saxon Invasions.

Kipling: 'On the Great Wall.'

„ 'The Winged Hats.'

The Coming of Christianity.

Bede: Paulinus and Wilfred.

Kipling: 'The Conversion of St. Wilfred.'

Anglo-Saxon Seafaring.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Othere's Voyage.

Longfellow: 'The Discoverer of the North Cape.'

Kipling: 'The Knights of the Joyous Venture.'

Life in Pre-Norman Times.

Readings from Lytton's *Harold*.

The Norman Conquest.

Kipling: 'Young Men at the Manor.'

The Domesday Survey.

Extracts from the local Domesday.

Kipling: 'Old Men at Pevensey.'

Norman and Jew.

Selections from *Ivanhoe*.

Kipling: 'The Treasure and the Law.'

English Monasticism.

Jocelyn of Brakelond's Chronicle.

Carlyle: *Past and Present*.

Life of St. Francis.

Stories from the Fioretti.

Mediaeval Chivalry.

Chaucer: The Knight's Tale.

Morris: *Gold Wings*.

Social Life in the Middle Ages.

Morris: *A Dream of John Ball*.

Reade: *The Cloister and the Hearth*.

APPENDIX D

STATUTE OF WINCHESTER

13 Ed. I, 1285.

1. For the greater safety of the country the King hath commanded that in great towns, being walled, the gates shall be closed from sunset unto sunrising, and no man do lodge in suburbs nor in any place out of the town from nine o'clock until day.

2. And in every city six men shall keep at every gate and in every borough twelve men, every town six or four men according to the number of inhabitants, and shall watch the town all night from sunset to sunrise.

3. And if any stranger or suspicious person shall pass by then he shall be arrested till sunrise, and if no suspicion be found he shall go quit.

4. Further, it is commanded that highways leading from one market-town to another shall be enlarged, where rushes, woods, or dykes be, so that there be neither dyke, tree, or bush whereby men may lurk to do hurt within 200 feet on either side of the way, so that this statute shall not extend unto great trees.

5. And if perchance a park be taken from the highway it is required that the Lord shall set his park the space of 200 feet from the highway, or make such a wall, dyke, or hedge that offenders may not pass thereby to do evil.

6. And the King commandeth, that from henceforth neither fairs nor markets be kept in churchyard for the honour of the Church.

7. And further it is commanded that every man have in his house armour to keep the peace—that is to say, every man between the ages of 15 and 60 shall be sworn to armour according to the quality of their lands and goods—to wit :

£15 worth lands and goods 40 marks—a hauberk, a breastplate of iron, a sword, knife, and horse.

£10 worth lands and 20 marks goods—a hauberk, breastplate, sword, and knife.

£5 worth lands—a doublet, breastplate, sword, knife.

£2 worth lands—a sword, bow and arrows, knife.

Less than £2—a sword or knife.